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when the Tenochcas reached the field of battle

they rushed to the attack and took no less than thirty prisoners, from each of whom they detached an ear with their obsidian knives before sending him to the rear. After the battle Coxcox made a speech praising the valor of his forces in taking so many prisoners but denigrating the Tenochcas who came back empty handed. The vassals waited until their lord had finished speaking and then inquired of him why each captive was short an ear. The attention of the Culhuas being riveted to this extraordinary circumstance, the Tenochcas opened their pouches and displayed the missing ears, proving beyond cavil the measure of their prowess. Clearly the war-sacrifice cult had reached the Valley by this time, for the emphasis set on the taking of prisoners indicates that this was one of the chief purposes of war. Furthermore, a drawing shows the later sacrifice of the prisoners, a cult practice the accomplishment of which was to make the Aztecs dreaded by other tribes throughout the length and breadth of Mexico.

So great had the prestige of the Tenochcas become that they went to their lord, Coxcox, and asked for his daughter as a wife for their chief so that they might found a dynasty. Coxcox granted their request, and the Tenochcas were so overcome with gratitude that they sacrificed the luckless girl and draped her skin on a priest to impersonate a nature goddess, Toci. Then with somewhat less than tact they invited the father to the ceremony. He, expecting a marriage celebration, was utterly horrified and summoned his warriors, to exterminate the Tenochcas who forthwith fled to the lake, rejoining their brethren already there.

There were two communities on the islands at the middle of the fourteenth century: Tenochtitlan, which seems to

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793 nize a priesthood completely separate from civil officialdom; both were mutally dependent. There was a priestly hierarchy, it is true, but it probably operated in conjunction with civil position. Permanent positions may have existed, but in the chapters on religion we shall describe more fully how completely the realms of Church and State coalesced among the people of ancient Mexico, in contrast to the cleavage between them in our own society.

567 Mexican society existed for the benefit of the tribe, and each member was supposed to do his part in preserving the community. However, the bane of working social orders as well as hypothetical social schemes are those unfortunates who, by mischance, maladjustment or just plain deviltry, do not do their part. The Aztecs, too, had this problem to cope with, and there developed a social class of people who had lost their civil rights and become slaves. This they might do voluntarily or because they were prisoners of war or were punished for crimes or were sold by their parents. Their treatment differed according to the circumstances of their enslavement.[a] (See Plate 38, bottom left.)

Military captives usually were sacrificed, but those who [727] demonstrated some unusual skill were sometimes bought for domestic service or put to work on some communal enterprise. Criminal slaves lost their free status for such offenses as failure to denounce treachery, membership in a traitor's family, kidnaping for sale a free man, selling another's property without his consent, theft without restitution when over [672] ten years old or hindering a slave from gaining the sanctuary of a chief's house. Penal slaves were privately owned, usually to make restitution to those whom they had injured.

Voluntary slavery was assumed by the poor and landless

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since that is what man most ardently strives to keep intact. 782
Thus instances of human sacrifices keep cropping up in the 174
world's religious systems, and we preserve in our own culture the concept of martyrdom, achieved by voluntary or involuntary means, as an act of virtue. The very beautiful example of the Saviour transmutes to the highest spiritual plane this idea of sacrifice for the good of humanity.

The Aztecs did not reach this spiritual level, but the symbolism of their sacrifice has, nonetheless, its own barbaric beauty. They reasoned that for man to survive, the gods who permit his existence must also live and wax strong. These gods, however, received their best nutriment from the most precious of offerings, the hearts of men. Thus a vicious circle became established which led to sacrifice on an increasing scale. The gods manifested their favor and their strength to the Aztecs by letting them prosper, but the Aztecs, on their part, had to sacrifice hearts to the gods to maintain their good will. A good part of the tribal prosperity emanated from military success, so that the most acceptable sacrifices were the hearts of adversaries, which were the hardest to acquire since prisoners could not be taken without military victory. A martial success, on the other hand, could only be achieved through the exercise of divine favor. Thus sacrifice led to war and war back to sacrifice, in an unending series of expanding cycles. The effect that this practice had on foreign affairs we shall describe in the next chapter. (See Plate 60, top.)

War captives were the most esteemed offering, and the 782
braver and higher in rank, the more valuable they were. [727]
Slaves were killed for minor ceremonies, and in rare instances [567]
women and children were slain in fertility rites to ensure
growth in plants by the powers of sympathetic magic.

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have been an important religious center in Middle Culture times. However, neither trade nor religion broke down the sense of communal and political independence in Central Mexico. (See Plate 35, Fig. 2.)

Foreign relations centered around war, which, we have seen, was an important part of Aztec economy and religion. The same confusion of motives that we find in our modern culture affected the reasons for military action. We wage war for economic, territorial and political advantages and, while condemning the practice in our adversaries, justify our own participation by saying that we are fighting for freedom, to liberate someone, to extend civilization or to ensure peace. Soldiers on our own side are brave and attain glory, preserve our social virtues and sacrifice themselves for the public well-being. Those on the other side are aggressors, agents of evil and cowardly knaves. The Aztecs made war for defense, revenge and economic motives, which were inextricably confused with the need for the sacrificial victims requisite for proper adoration of their gods. Thus in warfare the great aim was to take captives, but behind this religious goal lurked the less holy urges of political and economic expediency.

The captive himself attained social status, since he went to a special warrior's heaven. A redoubtable Tlaxcalan chief, named Tlahuicol, was singled out for sacrifice to the sun and fought so successfully with his dummy weapons that he killed some of his adversaries and wounded a number of the others. He was pardoned and offered a chieftaincy in the Tenochcan army. Tlahuicol, however, rejected his pardon and gladly underwent sacrifice for the greater honor and glory in that death. This story illustrates the attitude of the

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

727 individual warrior, which is not unlike that of the mediaeval
775 knight or career soldier in our own culture.[6]
782

721 The Aztec reasons for fighting and their social and moral
726 sanctions for war were not so very different from our own, except that we have many more, due to our superior rationalizations. The Aztec military technique, however, was definitely inferior, since it was not so completely developed a social tool as it is our own culture. The basic organization of the army required the participation of every able-bodied man under the direction of the war chief. However, as Aztec society grew more intricate and greater numbers of warriors took the field, the military structure became more rigid.

701 The unit of organization was an aggregation of twenty men, several of which were combined into larger bodies of two to four hundred, roughly corresponding to our platoons and companies. Special detachments of from four to six men, who did scouting and raiding, operated much as do the squads of our own military system. The clan commander marshaled the larger bodies, much as a colonel handles his regiment. The clan troops were banded together in four divisions under the heads of the four municipal quarters, and the tribal war chiefs had the supreme command. In a very numerous army the troops from a given quarter, or *barrio*, were sometimes divided into brigades, composed of the forces from two or three clans.[6]

The high tribal officers, the war chief, the chiefs of the quarters and the clan chiefs commanded the larger bodies. The ordinary chiefs and members of the warrior orders, the Knights of the Eagle and the Tiger and of a third infrequently mentioned order, the Arrow, according to their particular ability, took over the lesser units. In other words,

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Fourteenth Chapter, which tells of the god named Five Flower (*Macuilxochitl*) and Flower Prince (*Xochipilli*).

Equally were they worshipped as gods of the palace folk.

When people feasted, if one of us men lay with a woman, or a woman with a man, it was said: "They brought to naught their fasting through sin."

Thereupon [the god] gave them, as merited punishment, homosexuals, venereal sickness, boils, and piles.[71]

Therefore they would make vows to him, in order to quit, remove, or abate the sickness.

And when his feast, which was called the Feast of the Flowers, was celebrated, first all feasted four days. Some fasted thus: they ate no *chili*, [and ate only] after midday, only once [a day]. Some went at midnight, and drank a gruel called "painted *atolli*," on which small flowers floated. [This was] "the feast of the flowers."

All who ate good things ate them only at midday. And some ate only one thing—*tortillas* of corn not softened by lime,[72] without *chili*; [this] also [they did] at midday.

On the fifth day, which was when the feast was celebrated, a man became the likeness [of the god], arrayed in [his] clothing, in which he danced; they beat the drum and sang for him.

And at midday, quail were sacrificed. All drew blood, passing straws through the tongue; and they laid as offerings in his temple, five *tamales* which they had made for him. These were called [bread for] fasting, [and were] very large. On them stood the flowery arrow.

Some then offered their offering upon wooden plates, and followed it with five more small *tamales* with a sauce, and others [offered] two cakes made of a dough of amaranth seed and maize—one black, one red,—[instead of offerings of] rubber laid in wooden bowls.

And some [brought] toasted corn, or toasted corn mixed in honey; or S-shaped corn-cakes which were like notched straws or lightning-bolts; [or] butterfly-*tortillas*, *tortillas* of ground corn which had not been softened in lime; cakes made of a dough of amaranth seed and maize, and shaped like *chichīlli*, arrows, swords, and shells.

And here, in Mexico, from everywhere, were brought cup-dishes, called "vulture-cup-dishes," [from] all varieties [places]

Ixic matlactli vnnavi capitulo: inchpa tlatoa in teutl, yn itoca: macuilxochitl, yoan xochipilli.

Çan nenonotzqui, ynjc netetilolia tecpantzinco intech:

yn jquac necauhtilolia, intla aca toquichtli ipan cioacochia, anoço cioatl, ipan oquichcochiz: mjtoaia, quintlaçalmjctia yn jnepanolis,

ic quimmacaia, tzeuch quitlalaiaia, quiuilhujtiaia, quiuma-cenalitaia, in xochicuicatl, yn nenenemalizti, tlapalanaltilizti, quexilhuilizti,

yniçça tetolia, nenotolilotia, ynjc quiçouiz, ynjc quiçouaia ynjc quicaxaoaz, cuculizti.

Auh yn jquac ilhujquiuitilolia, ipan xochilhujtl: achtopa nauilhujtl nemachiçanalo: in cequintin ic neçoaoia, chil-caoaia, quinnequentla tonatiuh, in tlaquaia, cenlaquaia, inelnequentla quimattiuh, tlacujlolanalli in qujia, xochiocotli yn ipan ce, nenochiçoa:

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nuchi quiçoa in velic, çan no nepantla tonatiuh quimattiuh. Auh yn aca çan quiccaviaia, in ioelaxcalli quiçoaia, atle chilli: no nepantla tonatiuh quimattiuh:

yc tlamacujlti yn jlhujquiuitilolia, iquac ce tlacatl quimixipeltatiaia, conmaquiaia yn jtlatqui, ipan mjtotiaia, quitlatocamjliaia, quicujcatiaia:

yoan in ie nepantla tonatiuh, tlacotonaloia, neçoaoia, tlamaquiztoloia: yoã tlamanjlloia yn jtoupan, macujltec in quichiuhjlloia, tamalli: mjtoaia tlacatlaqualli, cenca vevey ipan ycatiuh xochujtl:

785

ya aca quauhcauitl ynjc conmanjliaia, yoan contoquiliaia oc no macuiltec tamaltepiton, molloiuja: yoan vntetl tmalli yiol pouja, no cecnj quauhcastica, mantivia, centl tlilic, centl tlatlauhqui.

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Auh yn aca inqujtl, anoço necuaqujtl, anoço nacazjlli, papaloctzacalli, ioelaxcalli, tzocallaxcalli, tzoalchimalli, tzoalmjtl, tzoalmaquauhtl, tzoalaxaxl:

yoan tenuian oalcaualoia, in tzamalti ajcan mexico, in tlamanco malcquipina, yn jnepaich xochioaloxoc, yn

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ane quauhcauitl—one arrow shafts or wooden shafts, projecting forward above the frontal head on the side of the temples and exhibiting *the new work* ("*tl*" *and*") *or the tzontlemoztli* (*See-hair*) (see Illus.). *Seler: The Tonalamatl of the Aubin Collection, p. 73. Tlacujlolanalli, in the Aztec text, should probably be tlacujlolpan.*

72. Corresponding Spanish text reads: "*harta, sin sahornarlahar, de las partes arriba, . . . ahornarnar, pahrahandar del mismahe sarnar, dahar, tornahar, etc.*"

73. In corresponding Spanish text: "*pann ashar.*"

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796 surrounding us, brought by them [Nahuas] living on the
borders of warring people. Those who had taken these pris-
727 oners, these "tribute-captives," brought them, [and] here
guards watched them.

And if one of them fled and escaped, they captured him,
they brought a man to take the place of him [who had fled].

776 This the slaves died, when the feast was celebrated.
And the garb [of Macuilxochitl was thus]: on his lips
there was the imprint of a hand. His face was red and burnt.
He had a crown of feathers. A wing was the burden on his
back, on which was the sun-flag, with quetzal-feathers at the
top. The cotton cloth, which was girt behind, had red edges.
He wore sun sandals.

Fifteenth Chapter, which tells of the god named Two Rood (Omacatl).

[773] This Omacatl was god of Ulmaxac.[74] It was said that
he invented, created, and introduced banqueting—invitations
to feasts, acceptance [of invitations], the feasting of people.
Through him it came to pass that men gathered together,
that near relatives assembled. To one's house was brought
his image, there to be held in esteem and cared for.

And also it was said that if he was not [so] held in
esteem, like an invited [guest], he would become angered.
He chided one in his sleep or in a dream; he said to him
who dreamed: "Thou! Why dost thou not esteem me? I
shall depart from thee. Already I know what I shall do
to thee."

[753] And if he was sorely enraged, when one ate he often
caused him to swallow hair which was upon the water and
the food. And when, [as] one said, he ate the god, often he
sickened. Then he afflicted him: food stuck in his throat;
the water wound about the roof of his mouth like a snake.
His gullet was troubled when he ate. And if he walked, he
stumbled and fell.

776 And thus was his feast celebrated. Whom are the image
796 of the god first made a sacred cylinder [of dough]: this was
the home of the god. The chief men—the priest, the elder of
the city—[made it], a cubit long—fat, round.

And before it was shaved among them, four all ate and
drank, drinking wine. And when day broke, they stabbed
Omacatl in the stomach and killed him. Then the sacred
roll was shaved, broken in pieces, divided among them.

When it was eaten, [it was] as if a debt had been as-
sumed, as if one were summoned to a feast, and were
forgiven [the debt]. And those who accepted, when the feast
ended, had paid with their stomachs and were clean, because
they had repaid [their debt].

776 And thus was he decked: he had a crown of feathers—

inemmaqua, yn iacxoc ezqua, quiyaualcoaia yn jmal-
hoan, yn jnitlacuiuan, in malmaquitoca, tlachiuia: ajcoc
quiyaqiuia, yn calpiqui, in cecalpiqui.

Auh inela oca chiuhti, inela tlachalolti, ypan tlacaqujtoaia,
motlaccaccaujtia, quiyaqitlatoiaia, quiyaqitlatoiaia:
in tlatlacati, vncan mitquja, yn jquac illuiyaqujtilloia.
Auh yn jnechichioni: tzonecpacle intlapalcuezcle, tlaitla-
palcuezcolujlli, tlaitlaquaL-tilli, yhujtzoncale, qpachichiquja,
vitzmaqui yn jtlancaxal, vitzcaxtlomaxale, ypan icac,
tzonalaquajtl, quetzaltzontic, quetzaltzaccaxtzontic, quetzal-
tzaccaxcuexe, quetzaltzaccaxcuexin, tzaclapalxica tzoncujtipi,
tzotzoquja, yxnalocac, tzoalocaque.

Juic caxtolli capitulo, ynchpa tlatoa yn tzoil, yn jtoca Omacatl.

Juja omacatl, vitzmaxac, tzoil catca, yn jnech tlamjloia,
in piqujlilloia, quiyocuia ca ixhuatl imactia, in cuaitol, in
tecuaxcuetzilitzli, in tetlacamotilitzli, in tetlaquaL-tilitzli:
ymatcjan machtiloia yn jxaccotlalilitz, yn jxaxaquajxotlia
tzonaloque, techi vicoia, vnpa mocuicuechtoia, jtecujtlacujloia
yn jnjquia.

Auh no quiyocuia, yxtlacaxac mavi..ilo, yn jshuqujxa
cuaxocuallo, tlavilcuja: tecuchpa, anoço tecuchtzon tzonoia,
quiJlanjoia, yn aquja quiyaxujquj. Jn ixhuatl tleyca yn axno
tlaechcuvitzmati; ajxiuitlalcahuia: auh ic nz ajcmati, in
tlein nuqua ajxchiuaz.

Auh inela cenca moçaxua, yn jquac tlaquaia, mjecpa
tzontli quiyocuiloia, in ol, in tlaquatli ipan. Auh yn aquj
yn mjtoa tecuxpa, mjecpa mococoa: yxjc quiJnlinja, malcioa,
yxtepec mjlacatzoa in ol: mahuptlanja in jquac tlaqua:
auh yxtla nenemj tzompotlanja, nacacujoja, nadavinoqui.

Auh yxjc illuiyaqujtilloia: yn aquja tecuxpa, achcopa
quichiuaia, tecujmilli, yiuntjo in tzotl catca: qm tlacotl,
tecujnoqui calpolc, cen malcpitl yxjc hujviac, vel tzonmaxac,
mjmjlic.

Auh yn ximo nenemaca, oc achcopa tlatlaquaia, ocliia,
tlaoaxo: auh yn oclathuja: cmjxtecpinja, yn omacat
cmmjctia: ajmaa ic nenemaca, nadatlapanjlo, nacacallujlo,
in tecujmjlli:

iquac quaquale, inhuja ic tzcuiuitlaia, tetlaquajxilo,
tetlallujlo, tenahuatzolilo: ca yn aquipac mocnia, yn iquac
ic illuiyahuajxiqui, tecujtlacatlalhuaia, tequipanuia, yyaxpa
ca cuelcelhuaia.

Jn inechichioni cenca: ihviuhcacale, quauhtzontzale, yxtl

74. Probably the temple of Ulmaxac (Ulmaxac calcuecan) in context. Cf. Sahagún: Collected Works, Vol. II, pp. 1, p. 82. Sahagún describes it as the 24th temple (Historia general, Vol. I, p. 222). The same source suggests various other meanings—the month, the house or part of the city named Ulmaxac, the people of that area, or the south house or south temple. See ibid., Vol. I, pp. 197, 197-99, 215, 221, 222, 229, and also Seler: op. cit., Vol. II, pt. 4, pp. 7-8, 9-10.

796 priests] proceeded playing [musical instruments], singing, and dancing before them.

[787] When they took the children to be slain, if they wept and shed many tears, those who carried them rejoiced, for they took [it] as an omen that they would have much rain that year.

796 Also in this month they slew many captives in
● 727 honor of these same gods of the water. They slashed them first, [with their swords,] fighting them as they were tied upon a stone like a mill wheel; and when they threw them down, wounded, they carried them off to tear their hearts from them in the temple which was called Yopico.

When they slew these captives, their owners—they who had taken them—went gloriously arrayed in feathers, dancing before them and showing their valor. This continued through all the days of this month. In this feast were enacted many other ceremonies, which are set down at length in its telling (*fol.* 15).

10 g yuan adornadas con plumajes, y con *g 11*
11 A flores: yuan, tañendo, cantando, y bay- *A 12*
12 b lando delante dellos *b 13*
13 c Quando lleuauan a los niños a *c 14*
14 d matar: si llorauan, y echauan muchas *d 15*
15 e lagrimas, alegrauanse los, que los *e 16*
16 f lleuauan: porque tomauan pronostico, *f 17*
17 g de que auian de tener, muchas aguas *g 18*
18 A ese año. *A 19*
19 b Tambien en este mes: matauan *b 20*
20 c muchos cautiuos, a honrra de los mismos *c 21*
dioses del agua: acuchillauanlos primero peleando cõ ellos, atados sobre vna piedra, como muela de molino, y despues los derrocauan acuchillados: lleuauanlos a sacar el coraçon al templo, que se llamaua, iopico.

Quando matauan a estos captiuos: los dueños dellos, que los auian captiuado, yvan gloriosamente atauiados cõ plumajes, y baylando delante dellos, mostrando su valentia. Esto passaua por todos los dias, deste mes. Otras muchas cerimonias, se hazian en esta fiesta: las quales estan escriptas a la larga, en su historia. fo. 15.

X1796 Before they dismembered the captives, they flayed them; and others put on the skins, and, [wearing them,] fought mock fights with other youths, as if it were a war. And those [of one band] took captive [those of] the other [band].

[72] After what hath been set forth above, they slew other captives, battling with them—these being tied, by the waist, with a rope which passed through the socket of a round stone, as of a mill; and [the rope] was long enough so that [the captive] might walk about the complete circumference of the stone. And they gave him arms with which he might do battle; and four warriors came against him with swords and shields, and one by one they exchanged sword blows with him until they vanquished him. Etc.

Antes que hiziesen pedaços a los cautivos: los desollauan, y otros vestian sus pellejos, y escaramuçauan con ellos, con otros mancebos, como cosa de guerra: y se prendian los vnos a los otros.

Despues de lo arriba dicho: matauan otros captiuos, peleando con ellos: y estando ellos atados por medio del cuerpo, con vna soga, que salia por el ojo de vna muela, como de molino, y era tan larga, que podia a andar por toda la circúferencia de la piedra, y dauanle sus armas, con que peleasse: y venjan contra el quatro, con espadas, y rodelas, y vno a vno se acuchillauan con el, hasta que le vencian. Etc.

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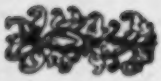

X 796 **Twenty-first Chapter, which telleth of the honors paid, and of the blood offerings which were made, in the second month, which was called Tlacaxipeualiztli.**[1]

●[721] Tlacaxipeualiztli. This feast came and was thus celebrated; [it was] when all the captives died, all those taken in war—the men, the women, the children.[2]

Those who had taken captives, when, on the morrow, their prisoners were to die, then began the captives' dance, when the sun had passed noon. And they held an all-night vigil for their prisoners there in the tribal temple. And they placed [the captives] before the fire[3] and took hair from the top of the captives' heads, when half the night had passed and when they made offerings of blood from the ear.

And when the dawn came, then they made them leave, that they might go to die, they who were to die appropriately to this feast day. For during the entire festival they were all flayed. Hence they called [the feast] Tlacaxipeualiztli.

And the captives were called *xipeme* and *tototecti*.[4] Those who slew them were the priests. Those who had taken them captive did *not* kill them; they only brought them as tribute, only delivered them as offerings;[5] [the priests] went laying hold of their heads, and seizing [the hair of] their heads. Thus they went leading them up to the top of the temple.

And when some captive faltered, fainted, or went throwing himself upon the ground, they dragged him.

And when one showed himself strong, not acting

Jnic cempoali oce capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in tlamauiztlilizttli, yoan in nextlaoalizttli, in qujchioaia, yn jpan vel ic vntetl metztli, in mjtoaia, tlacaxipeualiztli.

Tlacaxipeoalizttli: ynin ilhuitl qujçaia: auh inic muchioaia, iquac miquja, yn ixqujch malli, yn jxqujch tlaaxtil, yn ixquich haxioac: yn oquichtli, in cioatl, yn ixquich piltzintli.

Jn maleque, in ie iuh muztla miqujzque in malhoan, iquac pena, in momalitotia, in ie onmoccaloa tonatiuh: auh ceiocal qujtoçauja yn jmal, in vncan icalpulco: yoan vncan qujtzoncuj, iquaiolloco, tẹcuilixquac qujtlalia, iquac in ioalli xeliuj, neçaoalizpan.

Auh in oallatuje, vncan conecaltia, inic mjqujtiuh: in miquja vel ipan in jlhujtl: auh vel iuh cemjlhujtl muchinti qujnxipeoaia, xipeoaloia: ic mjtoaia tlacaxipeoalizttli.

Auh in mamalti motocaiotiaia xipeme, yoan tototecti: in temictiaia, iehoantin in tlamacazque: amo iehoanti qujnmictiaia in maleque, çan tequjtl qujmoncaoaia, çan tequjtl temac qujmoncaoaia, qujnquatemoczultzizqujtiuj, inquatla qujmantiuj, ymjcpac qujmantiuj, ynjc qujntlecauja teucalticpac.

Auh yn aca malli, vel çotlaoa, iolmiquj, ça chachapantiuh, ça qujvilana:

auh yn aca vel muchicaoa, amo mocioatlamachtia,

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1. This most spectacular of ceremonies—the flaying of men—was said by Fray Diego de Durán to have been invented by Moctezuma I's general Tlacaelel. See *Historia de las Indias de Nueva-España y las islas de Tierra Firme* (José F. Ramírez, ed.; Mexico: Imprenta de J. M. Andrade y F. Escalante, 1867), Vol. I, p. 174. Miguel Acosta Saignes, in *Tlacaxipeualiztli, un complejo mesoamericano entre los nahuas* (Caracas: Universidad Central, 1950), *passim*, argues that it is an ancient complex and in various aspects very widespread.

In Mexico, an plant as a spring festival, celebrated when the soil was prepared for planting, is well recognized. Those who wore the human skins represented the renewal of vegetation. Cf. Seler: *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 71. See also Alfonso Caso: *La religión de los aztecas* (México: Imprenta Mundial, 1936), pp. 27-8, where, besides, origin of the ceremony in Guerrero or Oaxaca is suggested.

2. Clavijero (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 149) adds that "*algunas de estas víctimas eran ser los ladrones de oro y plata que eran condenados por la ley del reyno a semejante castigo.*"

3. Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 62) translates thus: "*legen sie*"—the hair—"*vor dem Feuerherde nieder*"; Sahagún, in the corresponding Spanish text, says: "*hacen al fuego ciertas ceremonias.*"

4. "The flayed" (*xipeme*) and "those who die for the honor of our god Tezca" (*tototecti*). See corresponding Spanish text, which also says: "*Todos los prisioneros de los desollados, se ocupan muchos mancebos, a los quales llamauan tzocuicatl.*" Francisco Paso y Troncoso, in *Descripcion Historia y Exposicion del Codice Pictorico de los Antiguos Nauas. . . .* (Florence, 1899), p. 109, writes: ". . . *Xipeme ó Tototecuin; es decir: los que iban vestidos con la librea del dios Xipe Tótek puesta sobre la piel del desollado, la cual estaban al cuerpo desnudo, para celebrla después con el rezar y los adornos propios del dios. . . .*"

[787] Besides being wars as described, the skins are said by Juan de Torquemada to have been used to forecast a wet or dry year, and the chiefs directed agricultural work accordingly.—George Kubler and Charles Gibson: *The Tovar Calendar*. Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, Vol. XI (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1951), p. 22.

5. Sahagún, in the Spanish text, definitely states that the captive was delivered to the priest by the captor.

X 796 **Sixth [Twenty-fourth] Chapter, which relateth the feast and blood sacrifices made during all the days[1] in the fifth month, which was called Toxcatl.[2]**

In [the month of] Toxcatl, the great feast of Tezcatlipoca was [held]. At that time he was formed and set up. Wherefore died his impersonator, who for one year had lived [as Tezcatlipoca].

And at that time once more was offered [to the people] his [new] impersonator, who would again live for one year.

X 796 For many impersonators [thus] lived, whom guardians[3] kept and maintained. Perchance there were
● 727 ten. These were select captives, chosen when captives were taken. Then was one chosen if he was good to look upon and fair of body. Then such were taken, and the guardians cared for them. But one whom they destined to be a slave, the captor slew.

X 796 For he who was chosen was of fair countenance,
727 of good understanding and quick, of clean body—
832 slender like a reed; long and thin like a stout cane; well-built; not of overfed body, not corpulent, and neither very small nor exceedingly tall.

X 796 For anyone who was formed [thus] defective, who
832 was too tall, to him the women said: "Tall one; head-nodder; handful of stars!" He who was chosen impersonator was without defects.

[He was] like something smoothed, like a tomato, or like a pebble, as if hewn of wood. [He did] not [have] curly hair, [but] straight, long hair; [he had] no scabs, pustules, or boils on the forehead, nor skin growths on the forehead, nor [was he] large-headed, nor with the back of the head prominent; nor of a head shaped like a carrying-net, nor with the sutures of the crown yet soft; not broad-headed, nor with a square head; not bald, nor with

Jnic chiquacen capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa, yn ilhujtl, yoā in nextlaoalli, in muchioaia, yn ipan ic cemjlhujtl ic macujlli metztli, in mitoaia, Toxcatl.

In ipan in toxcatl, vel yueiilhujuh catca in tezcatlipuca: vncan tlacatia, vncan moquetzaia: ipampa ca vncan miquja, yn jxiptla in cexiuhtica onen.

Yoan iquac njman noce vncan mixquetzaia yxiptla, yn oc no cexiuhtica nemiz:

ca miequjntin in nemja, teixiptlaoan in quinpia, in qujnnemjtiaia cacalpixque: aço quĕ matlactli in neuj: y iehoantin y, ca mamalti tlaqujxtilti qujxtiloia, yn iquac oalxitiloia mamalti, vncan pepenaloia, intla aca ce oqualittoc, in qualli ynacaio: njman onano, qujmonpialtiaia in calpixque: auh iece ipan qujoalixquetzaia tlacotli, iehoatl qujnictia in tlamanj:

ca iehoatl ic pepenalo, in qualli itlachieliz, in mjmatquj, in mjmatinj, in chipaoac ynacaio, cujllotic, acatic, piaztic, iuhqujn otlatl, ipanoca temjmjltic, amo tlacaçolnacaio, amo tomaoac, amo no tetepiton amo no cenca quauhtic:

ca yiaioca muchioa, yn aqujn cenca quauhtic, qujlhuja in cioa: quauhtitin, quauhchachalan, citlalmaololo: yn aqujn pepenaloia, in teixiptla, atle yiaioca:

iubqujn tlachictli, iuhqujn tomatl, iuhqujn telolotli, iuhqujn, quaujtl tlaxixintli, amo quacocototztic, quacolochtic, vel tzŏmelaoac, tzompiaztic, amo ixquachachaquachtic, amo ixquatotomonquj, amo ixquaxitontic, amo ixquaxiqujpiltic, amo quametlapiltic, amo cuexcochujtztic, amo quachitatic, amo quapatztic, amo quapatlachtic, amo quaoacaltic, amo quaxoxomalacquj, amo ixquamamalacachtic, amo ixquatolpopoçactic, amo ixquatolmemetlapiltic, amo

1. *Cemilhuitl* is usually translated as "one day" or "all day." Garibay ("Relación breve," p. 291) renders it "the first day." Simdon (*op. cit.*), in an extended discussion, admits a meaning of "the first day," or "all the days"; this latter appears to fit the events related in Chapter 24.

2. Of this name, Orozco y Berra (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 37) writes: "Toxcatl, Tepopochoiliztli. *De todas las interpretaciones dadas á la palabra Toxcatl, la más generosa á nuestro entender, es la dada por Gama, tomada del P. Acosta: 'una soga gruesa torcida de sarmas de maiz tostado.'*"

Clavigero (*op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 402) explains that "*La figura del mes quinto es la de una cabeza humana con una cadena debajo, para representar aquellas sartas de maiz tostado que se ponian al cuello, y con las cuales adornaban tambien al ídolo de Tezcatlipoca, por lo que el mes mismo tomó el nombre Toxcatl*"; and (p. 152) "*unas sartas de maiz tostado de largo y cuendas del trigo del idolo, lo hajaban en unas andas bien adornadas al pie de la escalera. Los mancebos y clerigos del templo rodeaban las andas de una cuerda gruesa compuesta de sartas de maiz tostado y ponian al idolo una sarta al cuello y una guirnalda en la cabeza. A esta cuerda por ser de gruesa sartas y dimbolo de la seguridad que pretendian tener con sus pregarias, llamaron toxcatl, el cual nombre se dió por esta ceremonia al mes quinto de que hablamos.*"

Garibay (*op. cit.*, p. 291) also suggests as a translation for the name "*una dureza, una tirantez*"—"*sinewy severe.*"

3. Sahagún (Bulnes edition, Vol. II, p. 315) refers to "*los mayordomos de las provincias, que llamaban calpixques de las provincias*"; and (Vol. III, p. 122) adds: "*Tenian ellos habia señores y mandones que mandaban a sus súbditos; habia principales, personas conocidas, como son los que llaman calpixques, que reginan a los demás.*"

The white demon of the air was of gold, and had quetzal feather balls.

The yellow, Huaxtec, pointed, conical cap had a golden [disc] in front and was girt with quetzal feathers. And the shirt was of yellow parrot feathers [decorated with] hawk scratches. Gold was his crescent-shaped nose plate; gold were his ear pendants, with quetzal feather spindles.

The white, Huaxtec, pointed, conical, paper cap had quetzal feathers bound at the base and a [disc] of gold at the front; its spindles were of quetzal feathers and gold. Gold was his crescent-shaped nose plate, and gold were his ear pendants.

[For] the bi-colored Huaxtec, the shirt was half blue and half yellow. His conical, pointed cap was also bi-colored—half blue and half yellow, and it had quetzal feathers girt at the base and a golden [disc] at the front. Gold was his crescent-shaped nose plate; his ear pendants were gold; and his spindles were of quetzal feathers.

The golden conical cap had quetzal feather tufts held in cups. The silver conical cap had quetzal feather tufts held in cups.

[There were] shell trumpets and clay pipes which were blown in battle so that the warriors might set forth together to fight. The standard, [which was] of gold, and the quetzal feather banner dispatched the men to battle. When it was seen that already all the standards were raised, then the warriors set forth together to do battle.

The quetzal feather sun [consisted of] a golden sun, and in the middle of it was a circle of quetzal feathers. The young maize flower crest had, as its leaves, quetzal feathers, and [was ornamented] with flint knives [fashioned of] gold. On his temples went plate-like pieces of gold. The wooden sword [was provided] with obsidian blades [set in] a groove at its edge. The headdress of quetzal and heron feathers [ornamented] with gold, [had] single quetzal feathers, and many quetzal feathers rustled [from it. There was] the ocelot wine jar, whose foam had single quetzal feathers [set in it], and many quetzal feathers rustled [from it].

Iztac tzitzimjtl, coztic teucujtlaio, iquetzalteme. 643

Coztic cuextecatl icopil ujtzauhquj, izquateucujtlaio, quetzaltica cujtlalpic: auh in ecatl, toçecatl motlotloujtec, coztic teucujtlatl in jiacametz, ipipilol, coztic teucujtlatl, imamalacaquetzal. 714 531

Iztac cuextecatl iamacal ujtzauhquj, quetzaltica cujtlalpic, izquateucujtlaio, imamalacaquetzal teucujtlaio: coztic teucujtlatl in jiacametz, ipipilol coztic teucujtlatl.

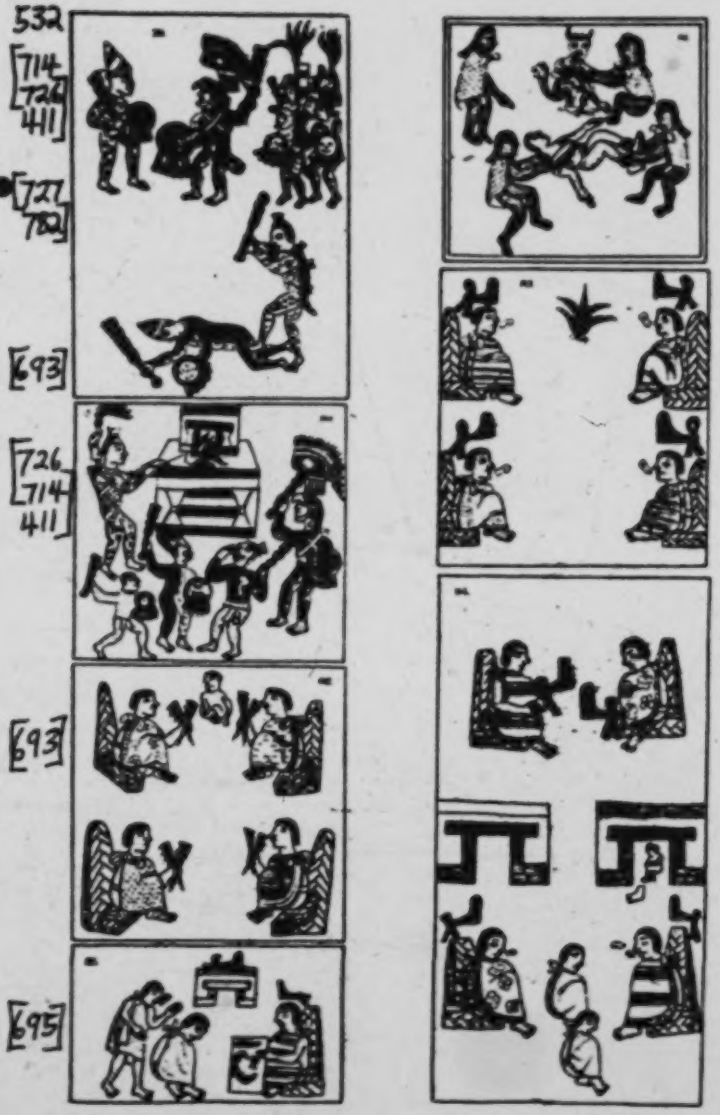
Chictlapanquj cuextecatl, çectlapal xoxouhquj, cectlapal coztic in ecatl, icopil ujtzauhquj, no chictlapanquj, cectlapal xoxouhquj, cectlapal coztic quetzaltica cujtlalpic, izquateucujtlaio, coztic teucujtlatl in jiacametz, ipipilol coztic teucujtlatl, imamalacaquetzal.

Coztic teucujtlacopilli quetzaltecomaio. Iztac teucujtlacopilli, quetzaltecomaio,

tlapitzalli teruçiztli, ioan qujqujztli in mopitza 534
iauc injc çemeoa iauqujzque, injc mjcali: in quach- 727
panjtl, coztic teucujtlapanjtl: ioan quetzalpanjtl in
terujtia in iauc, in omottac ie meoatiquetza in jzquj
quachpanjtl. Niman çemeoa in iauqujzque, injc
mjcali,

quetzaltonatiuh, coztic teucujtlatl in tonatiuh ijtic 643
mantiuh in quetzalli ioaltic. Xiloxochipatzactli, que- 714
tzalli in jizoaio, coztic teucujtlatl in jtecpaio, in jca-
naoacān mamantiuh: coztic teucujtlatl in tlacomal-
tectli. Maquaujtl itztzo in jtenco tlatectli, que-
tzalaztatzontli, teucujtlaio, quetzalxixilquj: auh in [411]
jcuecuetlacacaio mjiec quetzalli, oçelotlachicomjtl, in
jpoçonca quetzalxixilquj: auh in jcuecuetlacacaio
mjiec in quetzalli.

[p. 36 has no textual material]



— After Paso y Troncoso

79. Warriors in battle array (Chapter 17). 80. Conquest of a city (Chapter 17). 81. Sacrifice of a war captive (Chapter 17). 82-84. Judges (Chapter 17). 85. A trial (Chapter 17).

[p. 36(K)]

[p. 36(J) is blank]

And when they already were to rise against the city to destroy it, first was awaited tensely the moment when fire flared up—when the priests brought forth [new] fire—and for the blowing of shell trumpets, when the priests blew them.

And when the fire flared up, then as one arose all the warriors. War cries were raised; there was fighting. They shot fiery arrows into the temples.

And when they first took a captive, one fated to die, forthwith they slew him there before the gods; they slashed his breast open with a flint knife.

And when the city had been overcome, thereupon were counted as many captives as there were, and as many Mexicans and Tlatilulcans as had died. Then they apprised the ruler that they had been orphaned for the sake of Uitzilopochtli; that men had been taken captive and been slain. And the ruler then commanded the high judges to go to tell and inform all in the homes of those who had gone to die in war, that there might be weeping in the homes of those who had gone to war to die. And they informed those in the homes of as many as had gone to take captives in war that they had received honors there because of their valor. And they were rewarded according to their merits; the ruler accorded favors to all—costly capes, breech clouts, chocolate, food, and devices, and lip rods and ear plugs. Even more did the ruler accord favors to the princes if they had taken captives. He gave them the offices of stewards, and all wealth without price—honor, fame, renown.

And if some had done wrong in battle, they then and there slew them on the battlefield; they beat them, they stoned them.

And if several claimed one captive, and one man said, "He is my captive," and another man also said, "He is my captive": if no man verified it, and also if no one saw how they had taken the captive, the lord of the sun decided between them. If neither had an advantage of the two who claimed the captive, then those who had taken four captives, the masters of the captives, decided that to neither one would the captive belong. He was dedicated to the Uitzalco[4] [or] they left him to the tribal temple, the house of the devil.

And when the city which they had destroyed was strained, at once was set the tribute, the impost. [To the ruler who had conquered them] they gave that

ponja: injc tlequauhtlaça tlamacazque: ioã in tlapitzalli in tecuiztli, in oquipitzque tlamacazque: 726

ioan in ocuepon tletl, njman ic cenecoa, in jxquich inquinquj, motempapauja, mjcali, qujtlemjna in tzacalli.

Auh in achto in caçi malli in maliacatl, çan njman vncan, imjxpan quimjctia, in teteu, tecpatica quelitequj.

Auh in jcoac ompoliuh altepetl, njmã ic ic nemalpoalo, in quexquich malli: ioan in quexquich omjc mexicatl, in tlatilulcatl, njman muchi quicaqujtia in tlatoanj, injc tepal oicnopiltic vitzilobuchtli injc otlamaloc, ioan omjcoac: auh in tlatoanj njman quinnaoatia, in tecutlatoque: injc quitemachtitiuj, injc quitecaquititiuj, in jnchan in jxquinti, oiaumjquito, injc choquililoxque in jnchachan, in oiaumjquito: ioan quitecaquitia in jnchan, in quezquj otlamato iauc, ic vncan quicuiia in mauiziotl, in jpampa oquichiotl: ioan quimomaceuiaia in jxquich iteicneliaia in tlatoanj, in tlaçotilmatli, in maxtlatl, in atl, tlaqualli, ioan tlaujztli, ioan teçacatl, nacochtli: oc cenca quimjcneliaia in tlaçopipilti, in tlatoanj intla otlamato, quimaca calpixcantli: ioan in jxquich tlaçotli necujltonolli, in mauiziotl, in tleiotl, in teiotl. 727 [555]

Auh intla acame quitlacoa iauiotl, njman vmpa quinmjctia in iauc quinviujtequj, quintetepachoa. 687

Auh intla acame, quimocuicuilia ce malli, quitoa ce tlacatl, ca nomal, in oc ce tlacatl no quitoa ca nomal: intlacamo ce tlacatl itech nelti, aiac no quinjttac, in quenin tlamaque: ichoantin quintlatzontequilia, in tonatiuh itlatocaboan: aiac de onquiça in jmonextin in quimocuicuilia in malli: iuh quitzontequj, in quauhtlatoque, in mallatoque, aiac ce itech pouhquj iex in malli: vitzcalli quipoaia, calpolco quicaoaia, in jchan tlacateculotl. 727

Auh in jcoac oxtioac altepetl in ovmpoliuh, njman icoac mextlalia, in tequitl, in tlacalaquilli itech mana in tlein vmpa mochiua, auh njman no iquac inquo- 728 651

4. Cf. ibid., pp. 311-312, referring to the Aztecs of Cuauhtitlan, where eleven knights used flint knives: "Este era en el patio del templo que se llama Tlamaxtlan."

6: Sahagún M-S (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

and finally all the people of the uplands and those of the swamp lands."[4]

And Moctezuma said to them: "You have tired yourselves; you have suffered affliction, O men dexterous in war. Rest yourselves. [But] perhaps you only fool me. Let me still behold the truth of your account."

And then he confined them. If the report which they had made were not true, Moctezuma jailed them and did away with them

And there in battle was when captives were taken. When it had come to pass that they went against and conquered the city, then the captives were counted, there, in wooden cages: how many had been taken by Tenochtitlan, how many had been taken by Tlatilulco, and by the people of the swamp lands and the people of the dry lands everywhere. The captives were examined [to determine] how many groups of four hundred were formed.

Those who counted were the generals and the commanding generals. And then they sent messengers here to Mexico. Those who were sent as messengers were seasoned warriors, who informed Moctezuma of the great veracity of the four-hundred count. They brought word of how many groups of four hundred had been made captive.

And then they declared to him how many of the noblemen had won their reward for having made captives; that haply a number [of them] had had their hair shorn as seasoned warriors, or that some [had been made] leaders of the youths. When Moctezuma heard this, he rejoiced exceedingly, because his noblemen had taken captives. And at that time he freed those whom he had cast in jail—the victory messengers—and he gave them gifts along with the others.

And if war should be proclaimed against Atlixco, or Uexotzinco, and if there once again they took captives, they won much glory thereby; Moctezuma accorded them great honor for it. For his noblemen had taken captives, and had gained repute, and had reached the station of nobility—the estate of the eagle and the ocelot warriors. From there they came to rule, to govern cities; and at that time they seated them with [the nobility], and they might eat with Moctezuma.

565
868
701

Auh qujmjlhujaia in moteçuma, oanquiçiauhque, oanqujhijoujque in oçeloqujchtle: ximotlalican aço çan annechiztlacahuja, ma oc njcchia in jneltica tlatolli:

[687]

auh njman quimooncaltzaqua intlacamo melaoac tlatolli oquicaquitique moteçuma quintlatlatia quinpopoloa.

727

Auh in vmpa iauc in iquac otlamaloc, in ie ihuqui in oia in oompoliuh, altepetl, njman ic mocempoa in mamalti, in vncan oacaltitla quezquj oaxioac in tenochtitlā, quezquj oaxioac in tlatilulco, auh inic noujian cenchinanpanecatl, centlalhoacpanecatl, mocemjtta in mamalti quezquitzontli onnuchiuh.

[202
701]

Jehoantin tlapoa in tlatlacochcalca, in tlatlacatecca: auh njman ic oallatitlanj, in njcan mexico, in oalmotitlanj iehoantin in tetequjoaque, in qujoalnonotza motecuçuma, in ie uel imelaoaca in jcentzontecca, in qujoalitquj tlatolli, in quezquitzontli onnochiuh malli:

auh in qujmelaujliaia in quezquintin otlacnopilhujque in pipilti in otlamaque, aço cequintin motequjoacaxima anoce cequintin telpuchiacati. Jn qujcaquja in motecuçuma cenca ic papaquja ipampa ca ipilhoan in otlamaque: auh qujnjquac qujnequixtiaia, in qujncaltzaquaia in tequjpan titlanti qujmōtehoan motlatlauhtia.

[431]

721
729
727

Auh intla oalmjtoz iaujotl in atlixco, aço vexotzinco, intla oc ceppa vmpa tlamaxque, cenca ic vel panuetzi, ic cenca uel qujmmaujztilia in motecuçuma: ipampa ca ipilhoan in otlamaque, in onmoteniotique in oconmjiaoaiotique in pillotl in quauhiotl, in ocelóiotl, ic oncan in quiça in tlatocati, in qujpachoa altepetl, auh qujnjquac intlan qujntlalia: ytlan tlaqua in motecuçuma

4. Chimalpanmontl: Sahagún's comments on fol. 3.1 of Book X of the *Florentine Codex* is descriptive: "y ler de la tierra seca, que son los comunes de los ciboneyes."

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Twenty-first Chapter, in which is told how all arose through the ranks until they became judges.

And behold how began the life of the young boy. At first, while still a small boy, his hair was shorn. And when he was already ten years old, they then let a tuft of hair grow on the back of his head. And when he was fifteen years old, then the tuft of hair became long. [This was] when he had nowhere taken captives.

And if he took a captive with the help of others —perchance doing so with the aid of two, or of three, or of four, or of five, or of six, at which point came to an end [the reckoning] that a captive was taken with others' help—then the lock of hair was removed. And thus was the division of their captive: in six parts it came. The first, who was the real captor, took his body and one of his thighs—the one with the right foot. And the second who took part [in the capture] took the left thigh. And the third took the right upper arm. The fourth took the left upper arm. The fifth took the right forearm. And as for the sixth, he took the left forearm.

And when the tuft on the back of his head was removed, he was shorn so that he was left [another] lock: his hair dress kept, on the right side, the hair hanging low, reaching the bottom of his ear; to one side [only] was his lock of hair set. When this [was done], he assumed another face, he appeared otherwise, so that it might be seen that he had made a captive with the help of others [and that] the tuft of hair on the back of his head had been removed.

And then his grandfather, or his beloved uncle, addressed him. He said to him: "My beloved grandson, the sun, the lord of the earth, hath washed thy face. Thou hast taken another face; and thou hast gone to throw thyself against the foe. Let them take thee if, without profit, once more thou takest a captive with the aid of others. What wouldst thou be? Wouldst thou have a young girl's lock of hair? Take care lest thou again take a captive with others' help. Cast thyself against our foes."

Injc cempoalli oce capitulo, vncan mjtoa, in iuhqujma tlamamatlatl injc tlecoia in jxqujchica tecutlato muchioa. 302 855

Auh iczcquj injc ontzinti, in imemjliz in telpuchtontli, in iacachtó çan oc moquateçonoa in oc piltontli: auh in ie matlacxiujtl icoac mocuexpaltia, auh in caxtolxiujtl, icoac cuexpalchicacpul muchioa in ican tlama.

Auh intla tepal otlama aço oteoncaioti, anoço oteccaioti, anoço otenauhcaioti anoço otemacujlcaioti, anoço otechiquacencaioti vncan tlantica injc tepal tlamalo injc necuexpallaçalo. Auh injc quimoxexelhuja inmal chiquaceccā qujça. Injc ce vel iehoatl in tlamani quicui in itlac: ioan ce imetz: iehoatl in tomaiauhcāpa tocxi: auh inic teoncaiotia, quicui in topochcopa tometz. Auh inic tehecaiotia: quicui in tomaiauhcampa tahcul. Jnic tenauhcaiotia: quicui in topochcopa tacul. Jnic temacuilcaiotia: quicui in tomaiauhcampa tomatzotzopaz. Auh inic tlachiquacencaiotia iehoatl quicui in topochcopa tomatzotzopaz. 727 858

Auh in in icoac mocuespallaça, inic moxima motzotzcoltia quioallamachia in innexin imaiauhcāpa quioalhuilancaiotia inacaz itzintlan oalaci iioca motema initzotzocul: in icoac y oc centetl quicui inixaiac oc centlamantli ic tlachia inic ittoz ca otepallama omocuespallaz.

Auh niman ic quitlatlauhtia in icul anoço itlatzin quilhuia. Nosuiuhtze omitzmixamili in tonatiuh, i tlaltecutli ocentetl ticcuic in moxaiac, auh ça otia, inmicpa xonmomaiaui ma mitzuicacan in toiauoā inda nen oc ceppa tepal xitlania tle tiez cuis timatzotocoltiz, ma nen ie no cuel tepal titlama ça inca ximomotla in tiiauhoan. 603 [604] 861

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Appendix B

Continuation of the Twentieth Chapter[1]

. . . Then were rewarded the seasoned warriors who had brought word of the great veracity of the four-hundred count.[2]

And in this wise the messengers entered; if the flesh of men had been taken captive, it was thus soon made known—all came tying and binding their hair, for the flesh of men had been taken and they thus made it evident. And much did the common folk rejoice when the saw them [and noted] that they came binding [their hair]. They said: "And so[4] the flesh of men hath been taken captive; for all the messengers go with bound [hair]!" And if some came separate [from the others], and came no more with their hair tied and bound, but went with it quite loose, thus they made it known that [our men] had been made captive and that there had been losses in the war. And when the common folk saw them, then a cry of grief arose. Then they said: "And so[4] there have been losses!"

And the noblemen, when they had taken some captives, did not anoint themselves with yellow but rather stained themselves with red ochre, which they put on all over; and they were pasted with eagle down. And Moctezuma rewarded them all with princely capes and breech clouts of great value and high honor, and with preciously wrought quetzal feather devices [ornamented] with gold, and with shields with, perhaps, quetzal feather garlands—very rich shields.

And if one's captives came alive, then he had stewards guard them, and they took great care of them lest they take sick; perhaps it might be twenty or forty that they would guard.

And at the time when the captive was to die, then

. . . in iquac motlauhtia tequiuaqz,[3] y uel ymelauaca i ye ycentzontecca, oquiualitq'qz tlahtolli. 202 701

Auh inic ualcalaquia in titlanti intla otonacatlamaloc. ic monestiiuitze mochinti quihcuistiuitze in inquatzõ ontlalpihtiuitze. ypampa ca otonacatlamaloc, ic quitemachitiaya. Auh cenca ic pahpaqz im maceualti in q'mittaya. in ontlacuistiuitze. quitoua. anca otonacatlamaloc ca mochintin ontlacuistiui in titlanti. auh intla ceq'ntin ic xeliuhtiuitze in aocmo ontlalpihtiuitze, y aocmo. yhcuistiuitz inquatzõ y ça tontiuh. yc quinestiaya. ca otlamaloc, yuan omicouac ỹ yaoc. Auh in oq'mittaqz maceualtin nimã ic tlachoquiztleua. niman iuh quitoua, anca omicouac. 201 727

auh im pipilti in iquac tlaotlamahqz. amo motecoçauhaltia, çan tlauhtica mohçaya quicemaqz in nouia intech. auh mopotonia quauhtlachcayotica. auh in q'ntlauhtia moteccuiçoma moch yeuatl in tlatocatilmahtli. in tlatocamastlatl. y cẽca tlaçotli immauizço. yuan tlaçotlanq' quetzallauiztli teocuitlayo. yuan chimalli. aço quetzalcoxcayo y uel tlaçotli chimalli. 565 302 727 431

auh ỹ yeoatl ymal intla oualyoltia niman q'mpieltia in calpisqz uel quimocuitlauia inic amo cocolizcuiz intla oc cempoualtiz anoço compoualtiz. in q̃pieizque. 727

Auh i ye yquac miquiz malli. ỹ yehuatl tlamani 000

1. See ending of Chapter 20, above.
This passage originally, in the *Real Academia* MS, completed the section ending *Nihuei quiyeitehuaa motlalachiia*. The remaining part of Chapter 20 there appears as an interpolation.
2. The abbreviation for the ending *-qux* in the original resembles *-qz*, and is thus reproduced here.
3. This phrase appears capable of more than one interpretation: cf. Molina, *op. cit., Amonecapolla*, and *ovallevar tequilla*. Sahagún's translation of a similar passage in Chapter 20 (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 331)—*iqe uel y molauaz ixiuetzontecca*—is "*in richtiger Weise die Zahl der Hinkenden.*"
4. *Anca*: cf. Angel María Garibay K.: *Llave del Náhuatl* (Omnibus, Méx.: [Imprenta Mayó], 1940), p. 108; also Hermán Cortés: *Arte de la lengua mexicana*. (México: Imprenta del Museo Nacional, 1892), p. 519.

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And at the time when the captive was to die, then

782 Moctezuma presented the captor a device [with]
293 quetzal feather cups so that possessing it he might
727 slay him as a sacrifice. It did not belong to him; but having it he slew the victim, and he lanced with it. He had his rattle stick with him, or the obsidian butterfly or quetzal feather cup [device] set with gold, which he carried upon his back. Possessing it, he slew him as an offering.

nimā ye ic quimaca in motecciuiçoma in tlauiztli quetzalcomitl inic ypan tlamictiz. amo uel ytech ponia çan ipan tlamictia. ypan mitotia ychicuuz yetiuh. anoço itzpapalotl. anoço quetzalcomitl teocuitlayo in q'mama in ipan tlamictia.

796 And the captive he then took there where he was
727 to die, upon the round sacrificial stone; he proceeded to take the captive by the head, and lead him up there where they would slay him in the gladiatorial sacrifice. The one known as Old Wolf led him by the hand—he in whose care lay the captives, as if they had become his sons. And then he gave [the victim] his four pine cudgels, which he would hurl at his adversaries. And he gave him his shield, and his war club—not edged with obsidian blades but only pasted with feathers.

auh i yetuāl malli. niman ic quiuica in ompa miquiz temalacac icpac cantiuh coatlehcauia, in oncan q'uahuanaxqz malli. ymac conca̅ua ytoca cuitlachueue. in imac onacitimanca mamalti iuhq'nma ypilhuā quinchiuaya. Auh niman cōmaca ȳ yocotzonteuh nouhtetl inic q'momotlaz tlauuanq'. yuan q'maca ychimal ymacquauh. amo tenitzyo çan tlapotonilli.

[793] And those who contended against him in gladiatorial sacrifice were the fire priests and the [other] priests. And the captor remained standing below; he stood regarding his captive. He who died was indeed before [his captor].

Auh y yeuantin in teuuuanaya in tletlenamacaqz in tlamacaxqz. auh in tlamani çam moquetzticac tlatzintlan quitzticac in imal. uel ispā im miq'.

[273] And after this, when the Old Wolf had arrayed the captive, thereupon he went, and gave him to drink wine which was called the gods' wine. He took it to him [in] a vessel [painted like] reeds and edged with feathers. When [the victim] had drunk, then he raised [the wine] in dedication [toward] where the sun came forth. So [Old Wolf] did with all the shields and war clubs; he raised all of them as offerings which he gave the captive. When Old Wolf had offered the captive [wine] and made him drink it, thereupon the slayer of the sacrificial victim went forth in order to sacrifice him. [He had] his shield and his war club edged with obsidian blades and covered with feathers.

Auh ȳ ye iuhqui in oc̨e-ncauh malli in cuitlachueue, niman ye ic yauh quitiz in octli mihtouaya teooctli. inic quiq' acatecomatl tlatempotonilli. in ōya. niman ic coniaua in ompa ualquiça tonatiuh mochi iuh q'chiua in chimalli im macquauitl moch coniaua. inic cōmaca malli. auh in oconiti cuitlachueue. niman ye ic yauh in tlamicti inic q'uauanaz ychimal ymacquauh yetiuh tenitzyo tlapotonilli

And when he had drunk, then he struck at the captive, who likewise struck back. And if the captive were of stout heart, if he were verily a chieftain, really manly, perhaps three or four men fought him. Then, when he fell, they indeed slew him as a sacrifice. And if he were not manly, not a chieftain, then he cast himself there on the round sacrificial stone, and did not fight. Forthwith was he stretched out upon his back, and then they gashed open his breast, seized his heart, and raised it in dedication there [toward] where the sun came forth.

auh in ōya. niman ic cōuiteq' im malli. auh no q'ualhuiterqui auh intla yollo chicauac im malli intla uel tiacauh y uel oq'chtli. aço yey tlacatl anoço naui tlacatl in q'moychecultia. q'niquac uel q'mictia in ouelhuetz. auh intlacamo oq'chtli intlaçamo tiacauh çan niman ōmoteca in oncan temalacac amo ontlachecoua. çan icuuhca onmaquetztiteca niman ic conelteq' concuilia in iyollo conicuilia in tonatiuh. ompa ualq'ça

And after the sacrifice was offered, thereupon those who had made the sacrifice, who had slain [the victim], the priests, each one danced with the heads [of the captives], carrying them with them. And Old Wolf wept at this; he wept for his sons who had died.

And the captive[s] they then flayed; when it was dawn they were already flayed. [They] stood wearing [their] skins. Of each captive who died, their skins were all worn. Then they assembled at Yopico, in the courtyard of the devil. They had their shields, their war clubs, and their rattle sticks. And also came together the great chieftains, the battle-drunk, all important personages. With them were their staves; the pine staves lay in their hands, and they went carrying them.

And when deep night was overspread, they did not take upon their wrists their shields, but took only their staves, as they awaited the time that the sun would burst forth. And when he came forth, thereupon the *tototecti* placed themselves in order—verily, all of them. And the chieftains, upon this, also placed themselves in order and contended against the *tototecti*. Perhaps they faced each other in the four directions. And then the chieftains started forth and fell upon the *tototecti;* they tickled their navels. Very swiftly they tickled them, and then they took after them and went skirmishing with them there in the place where they were, a place called Totoctzontecontitlan. There the chieftains turned back; their only task had been to leave them there.

And when this had taken place, thereupon the *tototecti* visited house after house. Nowhere did they omit a house or one's home. Indeed everywhere they entered; and the common folk, seasoned to this, awaited them in order to offer them the things with which they expected them—bunches of ears of maize, tortillas made of uncooked maize, and tamales of maize, amaranth seed, and honey mixed together. For the whole day they went from house to house, [thus treated with] esteem.

And the next day, or [during the next] twenty days, wherever [one of them] went, perhaps in the market place, he begged, and that which he begged he gave to the owner of [the dead] captive. He gave him his share, perchance, of chili, salt, or staves, or pine wood, or grains of maize—all which lay in the market place. Each day [he did] the same.

Auh i ye iuhqui omnicouac. nimā ye ic mihtotia 796
in tlauahuanqz in otemictiqz ỹ yeuantin tlamacazqz. 727
in ipan mihtotia cecentetl in tzontecomatl intlan 793
caana. Auh i yeuatl cuitlachueue. niman ye ic choca
q'nchoq'lia ỹ yehuātin ypilhuā in omicqz.

auh i yeuatl malli nimā ye ic q'xipeua in tlathui
ye totec, [çan moquetzticacqui][3] in ieuayo. in is-
quichtin omicqz mamalti moch onneaquilo in ime-
uayo. oncan mocenquistia i yopihco in diablo itualco.
inchimal immacquauh yetiuh inchicauaztopil. auh
no mocenq'stiaya y ueuey tiacauan yetiui. i yaopan
miiintiani. uel isquich tlacatl. inquauh yetoc. yeuatl
in ocoquauitl immac onoc in quitquitoqz.

oc uel youā im moteca immac tlacuistoqz atle 796
inchimal çanio in quauitl quitq'toqz. quichistimani
in quemmā ualquiçaz tonatiuh. auh in oualquiz
niman ye ic motecpana in tototecti. uel isq'chtin. Auh
in tiacaua nimā ye ic no motecpana q'mimamictimo-
mana in tototecti. aço nauhmapa. in motztimani. auh
nimā ye ic ompeua in tiacaua ỹuicpa ōuetzi in toto-
tecti q'moncotoniſſa in inxic ça uel yciuhca in oq'mo-
cotoniliqz nimā ye ic q'ntoca q'micaltiui ompa
q'mōmana in innemanaya in itocayocā totectzonte-
contitlā. oncan ualmocuepa in tiacaua. çan tequitl
q'mōcaua.

Auh i ye iuhq' nimā ye ic ui in tepan cacalaquizqz 796
in tototecti. acan quimocauia in calli in techā. uel 431
nouian calaq̄ auh im macualli ye iuhca ỹyollo quin- 262
chie. in q'mmaca in inchiel. ocholli. uilocpallacalli.
ytzocoyouh. nenepanolli. çan cemilhuitl in tepanca-
calaq' in ontlaçotlalo.

auh in imoztlayoc anoço y cempoualloc. ça campa
quiquiça aço tianquizco. tlatlaeuā. in queheua cō-
maca im male. q'xelhuia. aço chilli. iztatl. aço quauitl.
aço ocotl. anoço tlaolli i ye mochi tianquizco onoc.
momoztlae yui.

3. This phrase is almost illegible in the original. We have reproduced what the words appear to be.

000 smarteth. Where, in truth, [may we turn], O our lord?"

Then [the messengers] commanded those who watched; they said to those at the head of the guard: "Even though he sleepeth, tell him: 'Lo, they whom thou hast sent over the water have come!'"

And when they went to tell him, then he replied: "I shall not hear it here; I shall hear it in the Coacalli. There let them go." And he commanded and said: "Let two captives be covered with chalk."

727 782 [203]

And then the messengers went to the Coacalli,[1] and also the noble Moctezuma himself.

Thereupon, before them, were slain the captives; they slashed open their breasts; they sprinkled the messengers with their blood. For this reason did they so do: that they had traveled into very perilous places; that they had gone to see — had looked into the faces and at the heads of, and had verily spoken to — the gods.

Niman quimõnaoatique in quipia in jtzontlan tlapia quimonilhujque intla mocochitia xicmolhujlican ca ovallaque in tiquinmotitlanj atl itic.

Auh in oconjlhujto: njman quioalito. Amo njcan njccaquja, vmpa njccaquja in coacalco, ma vmpa vian, yoan oallanaoati: quioalito: ma ontetiçavilo in mamalti.

Auh njman vmpa iaque in coacalco in titlanti: no ixhoatl in motecuçomatzin,

njmã ie ic imixpan mjcoa quimelletequj in mamalti, in jmezio ic quimonatzelhujaia in titlanti (ipampa in juh quichiuhque in, ca cenca ovican in ovia ca oquimittato, imixco imicpac otlachiato, vel oquinnotzque in teteu.

1. Cf. Andrews and Dibble, *op. cit.*, VIII — *Kings and Lords*, p. 91.

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955 NU7 Aztec NU7

Eighth Chapter, in which is told how Moctezuma sent the magicians,[1] wizards,[2] and soothsayers[3] so that they might do something to the Spaniards.

Then Moctezuma sent emissaries. He dispatched various evil men — soothsayers and magicians. And he sent the constables, hardy [warriors], chieftains, to purvey [to the Spaniards] all they might need of food: turkeys, eggs, white tortillas, and all they might ask for as well as whatsoever might satisfy their hearts' desire. They were to watch them well. He sent captives, so that they might be prepared if perchance [the Spaniards] would drink their blood. And just so did the messengers do.

And when [the Spaniards] beheld this, their stomachs turned. They spat; they blinked; they shut their eyes and shook their heads. For the food, which they had sprinkled and spattered with blood, sickened and revolted them. For strongly did it reek of blood.

And thus had Moctezuma provided, for he thought them gods; he took them for gods; he paid them reverence as gods. For they were called and named "gods come from the heavens." And the black ones were said to be black gods.

Later they ate white tortillas, grains of maize, eggs, turkeys, and all manner of fruit — sapotas,[4] red sapotas,[5] yellow sapotas,[6] black sapotas,[7] sweet pota-

Injc chicuei capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn ie-hoatl motecuçoma, qujmjoa in nanaoalti in tlatlaca-teculo, in tetlachivianjme, injc itla impan qujchioaz-que in Españoles.

Niman iquac tlaioa in Motecuçoma in qujmjoa mocheoantin in atlaca, in tlaciuhque, in nanaoalti: yoan qujmjoa in achcacauhti, chicaoaque, in tiacaoa in jpan tlatozque in jxquich intech menequjx in qua-lonj in tototi in tototeti, io jxtac tlaxcalli: yoa in tlein qujtlanjzque, yoan injc ca oc vel pachiviz in iniollo, vel qujmjtzazque, qujmjoa in mamalti, ic monemachti, cujx qujtque in jmezço: auh iuh qui-chiuhque in titlanti.

Auh in jquac oquittaque: cenca motlaeltique, chichicha, ixtetenmotzoloa, ihicopi, motzontecõvivixoa: auh in tlaqualli eztica catzelhujque, queezvique, cenca invic coac, qujntlaelti: ichica ca cenca xoquj-iac in eztli.

Auh injc iuh qujchiuh motecuçoma, ca qujnteuma, teteu impan qujnma qujnteutocac: ic notzaloque, ic tocaiotiloque, teteu ilhujcac vitze: auh in tlitique teucacatzacti mjtoque,

qujn iehoatl qujquaque iztac tlaxcalli, tlaxincujtl, totoltetl, tototi, auh in ie ixquich xochiqualli, quauh-tzaputl, teçontzaputl, atzitzaputl, totolcujtlatzaputl,

1. Guelbey, in "Pardigdenarcos de Sahagún," *Tlalocan*, II, 2 (1946), p. 170, refers to the "'duplicación de la persona' o al 'desdoblamiento'" in regard to *nanalli*. The term may be related etymologically to *nanā* (4) — a quadruple personality, an archaic verb *nanalli*, *nanalo* (to find or discover, as in magic tricks), or Maya-Quiché *ne, nan, nana* (wisdom, science, magic). Guelbey favors the second possibility (*nanalli, nanalo*).

2. *Tlatlacatecolo*: concerning the term *hechicerolobrujo*, Guelbey refers to an *arte de hombre perniciosa*, and quotes Sahagún's phrase in Vol. III (Robredo ed.), p. 33 — "*tiene parte con el demonio*" (*durcunvolant*) (*ibid.*, p. 174). In *op. cit.*, *Tlalocan*, I, 4 (1944), p. 389, he refers to *durcunvolant* as "*brujo*," "*mago*," "*hombre que perjudica a la gente, hombre pernicioso*"; "*precipitaba y provocaba la muerte.*" There is a discussion of the etymology of the term.

3. *Tlacatlapol*: we have previously used the term "soothsayer." In *op. cit.*, *Tlalocan*, II, 2 (1946), Guelbey, noting that Molina translates the term as *astrólogo*, states: "*Le rote cuile, parece denotar fenómenos meteorológicos,*" and notes the relationship of the term to *tecolotlapoyl*, one who prevents hail from falling. He cites *La población del valle de Teotihuacán*, II, p. 404.

4. *Quauhzapotl*: sapotas (*Lucuma elaeiodes* Mill.) in Francisco Hernández: *Historia de las plantas de Nueva España* (México: Imprenta Universitaria, 1946), I, p. 274; *zapote* or *tzapotl* (*genéric name*), according to Francisco J. Santamaría: *Diccionario general de americanismos* (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1942), III, p. 314 — *Lucuma mammosa*, *L. bonplandii*, *Achras mammosa*, *A. sapota*. Cf. also Sahagún (Robredo ed.), III, p. 225.

5. *Tlapoczapotl*: mamey (*Lucuma mammosa* Gaertn.), sapotaceáceo (Santamaría, *op. cit.*, pp. 314-316). In Bernardino de Sahagún: *Histoire générale des choses de la Nouvelle-Espagne* (D. Jourdanet and Rémi Siméon, trs.; Paris: G. Masson, 1880), p. 733, n. 2, this explanation appears: "*Les premiers Espagnols d'Amérique confondirent* [with various sapotas] *le fruit beaucoup plus gros du* mammeiapel *ou* hermosa *mammosa, de la famille des sapota, qu'ils appellent aujourd'hui* mamey. *C'est probablement le même fruit que les Aztèques connaissaient sous le nom de* mamapel." See also Sahagún (Robredo ed.), III, p. 225.

6. *Atamapol*: probably the same as *atzapotl*. In Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 267-268, this is *Lucuma salicifolia* Kunth. It is also identified by Santamaría, *loc. cit.*, as *Lucuma salicifolia* — *zapote zapotl* or *zapotillo*. In Sahagún (Robredo ed.), III, p. 224, it is identified as *zapote zapotillo* — *Sargentia greggii* (*rosáceo*). The *atamapol* (yellow sapota) is now generally known as *sapote borracho* (*personal communication, Rafael García Granados*).

7. *Tzonlolotzapotl*: *sapote prieto* (*Diospyros obovata* Ben. — *ebenáceo*), in Sahagún, *loc. cit.*

648 **Twenty-fifth Chapter**, in which is related how the people of Teocalhueyacan quietly and peacefully came to meet the Spaniards and offered them food when they fled from Mexico.

Tlacatecutli was the name, and Otoncoatl the lordly title, of the one who led them away. There he came to leave food. White tortillas; birds, baked [262] and boiled; eggs; and some live birds; and some tuna cactus fruit he spread out before the Captain.

He said: "You have suffered fatigue. Our lords the gods have tired themselves. Let them rest. Let them find a resting place. Let them recover their breath."

Then Marina answered them and said: "My master, the Captain, saith: 'Whence have they come? Where [is] their home?'" Then they said to him: "May our lord hear: we have come from his home at Teocalhueyacan; we are the people of Teocalhueyacan." Then Marina answered: "It is well. They have shown us kindness. We shall go there tomorrow; there we shall sleep."

● 727 And meanwhile, just as dawn broke, when the earth was visible, then [the Mexicans] carried away — there were carried out — all the men of Tlaxcalla and of Cempoalla, and the Spaniards, who had plunged into the Tolteca canal and [at] Petlacalco or Mictlantonco. In boats they carried them all away. In patches of rushes, among the rushes; in patches of reeds, among the reeds, they went to cast each one and lay them out. They went to throw out each one. And they went to cast out each woman; [302] naked, yellow[-skinned], anointed with yellow, painted yellow, were the women. All and each of them they stripped and despoiled. They removed all from them and left them bare.

And the Spaniards they placed, each one, apart, in rows; [like] white reed shoots, or white maguey shoots, or white maize ears, or white reed shoots were their bodies. And they removed each of the deer which bore men on their backs, called horses.

And all the goods [of the Spaniards and their allies], carried in their back packs — all was stolen,

Injc cempoalli ommacujlli capitulo, vncā mjtoa in quenjn Teucalhujacantlaca, ivian, iocuica quinamjqujco in Españoles yoan quinmacaque in tlaqualli, in jquac choloque mexico.

Tlacatecutli itoca, otoncoatl in jpiltoca. in valteiacā, in vncan quicavaco tlaqualli, iztac tlaxcalli, totolin, totollalevatzalli, totollaapoçonjlli, totoltetl, yoa cequjn ioioli in tutultin, yoan cequj nochtli contecaque ixpan in capitan:

quitoque. Oanquimjhioviltique, oquimociaviltique in totecujovan in teteu, ma mocevitzinocan, ma tlaltitech maxitican, ma mjhiocujtican:

njmā quinoalnāquili in Malintzin: quito. Notechiuhcavan, quimjtalhuja in Capitan: campa vallaque, campa inchan: njmā quilhuique. Ma quimocaquiti in totecujo: ca vmpa tivallaque in jchantzinco in Teucalhujacan, ca titeucalhujaque: njmā quioalito in Malintzin. Ça ie qualli otechmocnelilique, vmpa tiazque in muztla, vmpa ticuchizque.

Auh njmā vel iquac in otlatlavizcalli ieoac, in otlatlalchipaoac in teçacoc, in çaçacoque in ie ixquich Tlaxcaltecatl, in cempoaltecatl, yoan in Españoles, in motepexivique in tulteca acaloco, yoan in petlacalcu, anoço mjctlantonco: acaltica in teçaçacoc, aztapilla, aztapiltitlan, tulla, tulitic in quimamaiavito, quimōtzotzopontitlaçato, inca vmmamaiavito, yoan in cioa quintlatlaçato, pepetlauhtivi, cuztique, coztalanpopul, coztemjloltique in cioa, muchintin quinpepetlauhōquintlacujcujlique, quintlatepevilique, quinpetztoccauhque.

Auh in Espanoles nonqua quintetenque, quinvivipanque, ie on tolcelome, ie ō meztallome, ie on acaxilome ie on tolcellutl innacaio, yoan quinçaçacaque in mamaça in temamanj intoca cavallome.

Auh in jxquich in intlatquj in tlamamalchichiuhtiuh muchi namoieloc, muchi maceoaloc, in aquin

●727 all was claimed as booty. He who came upon something, took it, whatever it was; he appropriated it, carried it off on his back, and took it to his home. And on the very place where there were the killings, all—whatsoever it was—which they had gone from and left in fear, and much war equipment, were there stolen: the lombard guns, the arquebuses. And some lay there strewn: gunpowder, iron swords, iron lances, halberds, iron crossbows, and iron bolts lay scattered. And also there were looted iron helmets, corselets of iron and of chain mail, and leather, iron,[1] and wooden shields. And there were claimed as booty the bars and plates of gold, and gold dust, and golden necklaces with pendants.

And when all had been pillaged, thereupon all dispersed into the water and, severally, searched for things, some using their hands, some using their feet.

And as they had set forth, those in the lead had been able to escape. But those who had closed the march, those fell [into the canal] and sank in the water. All had died. It seemed as if verily mountains of [dead] men had been formed. They had pressed against one another and indeed slain themselves, smothered.

726 And while this was going on, there at Acueco [the Spaniards] had slept; still at night, yet well toward the dawn, they arose, bedlight themselves, and girt themselves for battle. Each put on his war array. Thereupon they departed, moved on, and placed themselves in order. And the Mexicans took after them, shouting and crying out—following after them only at a distance, keeping after them from there. And when they reached another place, called Calacoayan, on top of a rounded hill, on a small rise, where there were rows of rocks,[2] there they set upon and slew the people, spearing them. The people there were unwarned, these Calacoayan folk. Without notice they were slain. [The Spaniards] vented and loosed their wrath upon them. And when they had put the people to death, thereupon they came down below and occupied the flat lands, the small plain called Tiçapan. After this they climbed up to Teocalhueyacan.

çaço tlein ipan oquiçato quicujtivetzi, quimotechtia, quimomamaltia quiqui in ichan, yoan vel ipan nemjmjctiloc in jxquich in çaço tlein oquimauhcacauhtiquizque yoan mjec in iautlatquitl in vncan namoiciloc in tomaoac tlequiquiztli in matlequiquiztli, yoan cequj vncan tepeoac, vncan tepeuh in tlequiquiztlalli, in tepuzmaquavitl, in tepuztopilli in tzinacantopilli, in tepuztlavitolli, in tepuzmitl: yoā no vncan macoaoloc in tepuzquacalalatli, in tepuzvipilli, in tepuzmatlavipilli, in coachimalli, in tepuchimalli, in quauhchimalli: yoan vncan momaceuh in teucujtlatl in tlaxantectli, yoan teucujtlacomalli, yoan teucujtlatl tlaxaqualolli, yoan in chaiaoac coxcatl teucujtlaio.

Auh in ic ixquich in otlanamoiciloc, nimā ie ic onnetepeoalo in atlan, netlatetemolilo, cequjntin tlamatemoa, cequjntin tlacuitemoa.

Auh injc quizque in iacattiaque, ie vel quizque: auh in ça tlatzacutiaque, iehoantin in motepetivique in matlanvique, mochintin mjcque vel iuhquj tlacatepetl motlali monenepanotoque, çan mooetechmjctique, mjhiomjctiq̄:

auh in ie iuhquj in vncā acueco, in oncochque, oc veca iovan oc vellavizcalpan in meuhq̄, in mochichiuhque. in moiauchichiuhque, in ōmaaquique in iautlatquitl: njman ie ic oneoa, onolinj, ōmotema. Auh in mexica quimjcavatztivi quimoiovitivi, aocmo intech onaci, ça vecapa quimjtztivi ça quin vecapa vitivi, ça quinnachcapavitivi. Auh in onacique cecnj, itocaiocan calacoaian, tlamjmjlolticpac, tlacpactonco, in vncā tecuecuentla, vncā ōtemjctitiquizque ontexixilque, amo quimjmachitique in vncan tlaca, in calacoaiantlaca, amo innemachpan in mjctiloque, intech motlavelquixtique, intech mellelquixtique. Auh in ontemjctique: nimā ie ic ontemo in tlanj, connamjquj in tlalpechtli, in jxtlaoatontli: itoca, Tiçapan: njman ie ic ontleco Teucalhujacan.

1. *Text illegible; read tepuzchimalli.*
2. *See Pl. 98.*

726 slept at this time. Here was the place to which [the Mexicans] went in order to return, when the Spaniards showed their heels to and turned their backs upon them.

766 Upon this, then were identified the chieftains who
● 727 had died, who had been speared. There they burned all of them. And their charred [remains] they gathered up; they collected the bones of each of them. They heaped them all up and then buried them: they buried them in the earth.

805 And these are all the days since the Spaniards came to and entered Mexico, on One Wind of the day count and One Reed of the year count, on the eve of the tenth day of Quecholli. And when they had tarried one day, Two House, at that very time it was the tenth day of Quecholli. And when they came to the end of Quecholli, when it was the actual feast day, thereupon after it followed Panquetzaliztli, with twenty days.[4] Then after it came Tititl, also with twenty days. Then followed after it Izcalli tlamj,[5] also with twenty days. Then, at that time, set in the five days known as Nemontemi. And when the five days came to an end, then began Atl cauallo, or Quauitl eua, in which the year returned[6] —in which began the new year—also of twenty [days]. Then came after it Tlacaxipeualiztli, also of twenty [days]. Then followed after it Toçoztontli, also of twenty [days]. Then proceeded after it Uei toçoztli, also of twenty [days]. Then came after it Toxcatl, also of twenty days. This was when the chieftains perished: when they were cut to pieces, when the Mexicans were put to death. Then followed after it Etzalqualiztli, also of twenty days. Then came after it Tecuilhuitontli. This was when [the foe] set forth; upon an opportune day, the Spaniards set out, to disappear by night without the knowledge of [the Mexicans]; without its being their will, they set forth by night. And when the count of all the days is added, they are two hundred and thirty-five. And they had been our friends for one hundred and ninety-five days. And they were our foes for forty days.

000 And when the Spaniards had thus gone, it was therefore thought that in truth they had departed forever, that indeed once and for all they had left—

Auh in ie iuhquj: njmã ie ic teiiximacho in tiacauan in omjcque, in oniiliouque, vncan quintlatique in jaquichtin: auh in intecullo quipepena, in jmomjo quinenechicoaia, coolnoaia, çatepã contocaia, contlaltocaia.

Auh in inquilhuitico in Mexico inic calaquico in Españoles: ipã ce hecatl in cemjlhuitlapoalli: auh in xiuhtonalli ce acatl, oc muztla tlamatlactix Quecholli: auh in cemjlhuitique vme calli: vel iquac in tlamatlacti quecholli: auh in oscic, tlamj quecholli in vel ilhuitl: njman ie ic quioaltoquilia in Panquetzaliztli, cempoalilhuitl: njmã quivaltoquilia Tititi no cempoalilhuitl: njman quivaltoquilia Izcalli tlamj, no cempoalilhuitl: njmã iquac valmotlalia macuililhuitl motenco Nemontemj: auh in ontzonquiz macuililhuitl: njmã ic vmpeoa in Atl cavalo, anoço quauitl eoa, vncã xiuhquitzquilo, vncan peoa in iancuic xivitl, no cempoalli: njmã quioaltoquilia tlacaxipeoaliztli no cempoalli: njman quivaltoquilia Toçoztontli, no cempoalli: njman quivaltoquilia vei toçoztli, no cempoalli: njman quivaltoquilia Toxcatl no cempoalilhuitl: ie vncan inpoliuhque Tiacauan in xaxamacaque, in mexica in mjcoac: njmã quivaltoquilia Etzalqualiztli, no cempoalilhuitl: njman quivaltoquilia Tecuilhuitontli, ie vncan in quizque, vel ipan in ilhuitl in quizque in Españoles, in moiaalpoioque, amo tenemachpan, amo iuh catca teiollo inic quizque ioaltica. Auh inic mocempoa in jzquilhuiçaque matlacpoalli oçe, oncaxtolli: auh in tocnjcan catca chicunapoalilhuitl on caxtolli. Auh in toiaovan catca vmpoalilhuitl:

Auh in oiuh iaque in Españoles: iuh nemachoc in ca oiccen iaque, in ca iccen oiaque, aocmo oppa valmocuepaxque, aocmo oppa imjluch quichiou-

4. The Aztec year skips Atemozli.

5. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, II—*The Conquest*, p. 154.

6. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, VII—*The Sun, Moon, and Stars, and the Binding of the Years*, p. 25; Sahagún, Bustamante ed., II, p. 288.

726 **Thirty-fourth Chapter, in which is told how the Mexicans took captive and seized fifteen[1] Spaniards.**

"O Mexicans, onward!"

On this, the sentinel raised a war cry. [Shell] trumpets were sounded, and they charged with shield.

Thereupon they took after the Spaniards, they followed dispersing them and taking captives. Fifteen of the Spaniards were seized. Then they brought them in. And their boats [the enemy] withdrew, going to stand by in the middle of the lagoon.

●727 And when they had brought the eighteen where they were to die, there at the place called Tlacochcalco,[2] they thereupon stripped them; they took from them all their arms and their cotton armor, and all which was on them. All they tore from them. Then they were made slaves; they slew them. And their companions remained watching them from the middle of the lagoon.[3]

726 And at one time they put in two of their boats there at Xocotitlan.[4] When they had landed, thereupon they went looking in the settlement of the people of Xocotitlan. And Tzilacatzin and other chieftains, when they saw the Spaniards, set upon them and sent them fleeing, casting stones at them as they went. They came to chase the Spaniards into the water.

And another time [the Spaniards] brought their boats there to Coyonacazco[5] to wage war and give battle. And on arriving, then some Spaniards came out. Leading them came Castañeda Xicotencatl,[6] who walked wearing his [device of] quetzal feather

Inic cempoalli ommatlactli omnavi capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn ichcantin Mexica tlamaque in qujmacique Españoles canoltí.

Mexicae ma ic cuel:

njman ie ic tlacaoaca, yoan tlapitzalo yoan chimallaça in iautlachjaquj:

njman ie ic qujntoca in Españoles, qujmaiauhtivi yoã qujmantivi, caxtoltin in anoque in Españoles: njmã ic qujnoalhujcaque: auh in jmacal njmã ic qujtzinqujztique, anepantla contecato.

Auh in oqujmaxitico caxtoltin omei in vncan mjqujzque itoca: tlacuchcalco: njmã ie ic qujnpepetlaoa, much qujncujlique in iniautlatquj, yoã in jmjchcavipil, yoan in jxqujch in intech catca, moch qujntepeoaltique: njman ie ic tlaceti qujnmjctia: auh in jmjcnjoan qujnvalixtoque anepantla.

Auh ceppa qujcalaqujque vntetl in imacal in vmpa xocotitlã: in oconacanque, njmã ie ic vmpa itztivi in incalla xocoteca. Auh in Tzilacatzin, yoan oc cequjntin tiacacan: in oqujmittaque in Españoles: njman intech oalietiquizque, qujnoallalochtocaque, qujntepachotivi, atlan qujntepeoaco in Españoles.

Auh ie no ceppa qujoalhujcaque in jmacal in vncan coionacazco inic tlaiecoaque, inic mjcaliaque. Auh in oacico njman ic valquizque cequjntin Españoles, qujnvaliacan in castañeda xicotencatl: iquetzaltemal ietinemj. Nimã ie ic vallatepuznjvia: auh

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1. Eighteen are mentioned later. Cf. also Bustamante, *op. cit.*, p. 189 (chapter heading). The corresponding Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex* has fifteen.

2. Bustamante, *loc. cit.*: "*en que estaba una cava que era como cava de sementera, cerca de donde agora es la iglesia de Santa Ana.*"

3. Corresponding Spanish text: "*los naturales los corrapuso delante del pilado que se llamaua Mixcalhuacan y los otros españoles estuuan enfrente donde los naturales estaua los matauan.*"

4. Bustamante, *op. cit.*, p. 190: "*que se agora [el barrio de] S. Francisco.*" Cano (*op. cit.*) says it is the same as Cihuatecpan, in Mexico-Tenochtitlan.

5. Bustamante, *loc. cit.*: "*cerca del barrio de Sta. Lucia (que por otro nombre se llama Amaxac).*" Cano (*op. cit.*) identifies Coyonacazco as a part of the barrio of Teopancalco, to the north in Tlatelolco. R. H. Barlow ("Cinco siglos de las calles de Tlatelolco," *Tlatelolco a través de los tiempos*, IX [1947], p. 32) places it "*en torno de la esquina del Reformatorio de Hidalgo.*" A map in Antonieta Espejo and R. H. Barlow: "El plano más antiguo de Tlatelolco," *Tlatelolco a través de los tiempos*, I (1944), shows it in the northeast part of the city.

6. Bustamante, *loc. cit.*: "*Tadeipe de Castañeda (el quien los indios llamaban Xicotencatl, por nombre por sobrenombre).*"

95

726 Thirty-fifth Chapter. Here is related how once again the Mexicans took captives and seized Spaniards, and, as counted, the captured Spaniards [were] fifty-three. And also [were taken] many men of Tlaxcalla, Tezcuco, Chalco, and Xochimilco. Also [it is told] how they slew all in sacrifice there before those which were their gods.

Inje ommopolli on caxtolli capitulo: vncan moteneca, in quenjn ie no ceppa tlamaque mexica in quimacique Españoles, in jnh mopouhque in axivaque Españoles, ontecpátli ommatlactli omei: yoā no mjequjn tlaxcalteca, Tezcuca, chalca, xuchmjca. Auh in quenjn muchtin, vncā quinmjctíque in imjxpan in Teuoan catca./.

And when this had come to pass, then the chieftains who had been crouched, together fell upon them; they fell upon them from their ambush in the spaces among houses. And the Spaniards, when they saw this, [were] as if drunk. Thereupon were
727 captives made. Many men of Tlaxcalla, Acolhuacan, Chalco, Xochimilco, etc., were taken. Verily,
726 myriads of captives were made and men slain. Truly, they forced the Spaniards into the water, and indeed all the [allied] people.

Auh in ie iuhquj in jxquichtin tiiacuvan, nec quivalcentlaça in ontopachotoca, caltzalanli quivalototocatiquijxque. Auh in Españoles in oquiztaque ça iuhquin tlavîque: njman ie ic tlamalo, mjequjntin in axivaque in tlaxcalteca, in âculhuaque, in chalca, in xuchmjca, &c. vel tonacatlamaloc, tonácamjcoac, vel atlan quinnemjtíque in Españoles, yoā in ie ixquich tlacatl:

And the road became very slippery. It could no longer be traveled; each one could only slip and slide. And the captives were dragged along. Here in this place the [Spaniards'] standard was taken. Here it was seized. Those of Tlatilulco took it. It was captured there where now is [the church] named San Martin. But [the Spaniards] showed no concern over it; they were not troubled over it.[1] And others escaped [the Mexicans'] hands. They went leaving them exhausted at Colhuacatonco,[2] at the edge of the canal. There they retired to establish themselves.

auh in vtli vel petzcaoltimoquetz, aoc vel nenemoa, ça nepepetzcolo, ça nexalanolo. Auh in mamaltin tevivilanoc ie vncan in, in axioc in vandera, vncan anoc: iehoantin cacię in Tlatilulca: vncan in macic, in ie xucan sanct Martin motenteoa: çan ade ipā quiztaque, amo ônecujtlaviloc. Auh in oc cequjntin tematitlampa quijxque: vmpa quimôciauhcavato in colhoacatonco, acaloteneo, vmpa valmoanauato.

727 And after this they took the captives there to Yacacolco. They were urged forward; they went surrounding their captives. One went weeping; one singing; one crying war cries while striking the mouth with the palm of the hand. And when they had been brought to Yacacolco, thereupon they were placed in rows, in files. One by one they proceeded to the small pyramid, where they were slain. First went the Spaniards. They took the lead. But all those of the [allied] cities came only last, following. And when they had been slain, then they strung the

Auh njmā ie ic quinvica in mamaltin in vmpa iacacolco, tetototzalo, quimololhujtivi in immalhoan, in aca chocatiuh, in aca cujcatiuh, in aca motenvitectiuh. Auh in onenxiiloc iacaculco: njmā ie ic tevîpano, tevîpanolo, oceniaca oniatinanj in mumuco, in vncan tlamjctilo, iacattiaq in Españoles, coniacatique: auh ça vntlatzacujque, ontlatoqujlique in ixquichtin altepeoque. Auh in ontlamjctiloc, nec quinquaquauhço in ihtzontecon in Españôles: no quiçoçoque in cavalloome intzôtecon, tlatzintlan in quitecaque: auh in intzontecon Españoles tlacpac

1. It was captured by an Indian from Tlatilulco named Tlapanecatl or Tlapanecatl Ixcuitzin, according to the version in Buenaventura, *op. cit.*, pp. 191-192; here it is said that this exploit preceded the capture of the fifty-three Spaniards.

2. A barrio in the Provincialidad de Sta. María la Redonda Cuepopan or Tlaquitenchcuepopan now bounded N. by Calle del Organo; E., República de Chile; S., Perú; W., Allende (approximately). — Cano, *op. cit.*

●727 [severed] heads of the Spaniards, each one, on the [horizontal] staves [of the skull rack]. They also strung up the heads of the horses, arranging them below, while the heads of the Spaniards were above.[5] It appeared as if they were strung facing the [rising] sun. But [as for] all the various [allied] people, they did not string up the heads of the people of distant provinces. And fifty-three Spaniards were captured, and four horses.

726 Nevertheless, in all places watch was kept. There was fighting. Not because of [this success] did posting of watchmen cease. Everywhere those of Xochimilco went lamenting us in, in their boats. On both sides were captives taken; on both sides there was killing.

722 262 And all the common folk suffered torments of famine. Many died of hunger. No more did they drink pure, clean water[6] — only brackish water did they drink. Of it many people died, and many people therefore [suffered from] a bloody flux, of which they died. And all was eaten — lizards and

[137] swallows; and maize straw,[7] and salt-grass.[8] And they ate *calorin* wood,[9] and they ate the glue orchid,[10] and the frilled flower;[11] and tanned hides, and buckskin, which they roasted, baked, toasted, or burned, so that they could eat them; and they gnawed sedum,[12] and mud bricks.[13] Never had there been

in ceuca, in çopotoca, tomatiuh quixnamjctoca. Auh in jnquich nepapan tlacatl, amo quinçoçopaque ic inmomecâ in vca tleca. auh in xaiamque Españoles omicpaxtli ommatlactli omei, yoan nauhtetl cavallos

auh tel noviian tlatlapiclo, necalitoa: amo ic mocaoa in tlapiclitli, in noviian techiacalotinemj ic xochmjica in acaltica, nococchimpa tlamalo, nococcampa mjcoa.

Auh in jnquich macevalli, cenca tlaihioviaia mainoia, mjec in mapiznmjquili socmo quja in qualli atl, in ecatl, ça tequjzqujtatl in qtoja ic mjec tlacatl momjquili, yoã mjec tlacatl ic tlaelli quiztlaz ic mjc: yoan much quaioc in cuetzpalin, in cujcujzcatl, yoan Eloçacatl, yoan in tequjzquiçacatl: yoan quiquaquaque in tzompanquavitl, yoan quiquaquaque in tzacuxochitl, yoan in tlaqujli, yoan in cuetlaxtli yoan in maçacoatl, qujtletleoztzaia, quimoonqujaia qujtotoponzaia, quitotoponjaia injc quiquaia yoã in tezmeti, yoan in xaxatl qujetzaoaia: aoc tle iuhquj inic tlaihioviloc, temamauhti in tzaqualoc, vel tonoc

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5. Corresponding Spanish text: *"Ivã cogotados unos sobre . . . los otros todos unos sobre . . . los caballos unos sobre."*

6. Bolas, *op. cit.*, p. 559, reads this passage.

7. *Zacatl*: leaves, or straw, of maize, which Mexicans cattle eat, green or dry; in other words, the plant itself after the maize grains have been harvested (personal communication, Rafael García Granados). — "a Sahagún (Bolondo ed.), III, pp. 271-272, it is described as "hierba . . . se cria en agua y sirve parecido zacate al trigo, y es blanco, colorado los cogollos y cria colorados." Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 259, describing it as a diuretic and purgative, suggests "maize straw" as a name.

8. *Tequixquiçacatl*: probably grasses or, rather, kinds of the variety called "grama," creeps over the ground, putting forth small roots (personal communication, Rafael García Granados). — For this, Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 271, has "hierba muy dañosa y espinosa, que se hace en tierra salitrosa . . . se hacen para quemar." Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 225, citing Hernández (*op. cit.*), calls it either grass or weed; grass, possibly *Distichlis spicata* (L.) Greene. *Grama* (*zacatequixquiti* in Molina, *op. cit.*), Santamaría (*op. cit.*, II, p. 51) identifies as *Paniceum repens* L., very abundant in the Americas.

9. *Tzompanquavitl*. According to Sahagún (*op. cit.*, III, p. 273), *"es árbol medianos, tiene ramos arregados, tiene la corteza colorada y de hasta parecer, tiene unas flores que se llaman cempoalxochitl; son muy colorados y de hasta parecer y no tienen olor ninguno; los hojas de este árbol se llaman cuyuchil"*; p. 348: *"Tzopilotl. Árbol, flor y fruta del Colorín. Erythrina coralloides. D.C. Leguminosas."* Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 321, giving the same botanical identification and E. *americana* Mill., adds the current common name (*zompanxochi*), and observes of the bean (*colorín*) that it is *"segurio de pájaritos rojo, duro que constituye un alimento muy apreciado."*

10. *Tzacuxochitl*. Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 300, calling it a "glue flower," identifies it as *Illexia cornopaxoides* La Llave and Lex (?), *Epidendrum pastoris* La Llave and Lex (?), *Cymbidium macrobulbon* Hamelt (?) — all orchids. Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 375-376: *Tzacuxochitl o tzauhtli flos. Illexia cornopaxoides* La Llave y Lex, or *B. coccinea* La Llave y Lex.

11. *Tlaquilli*. In Molina, *op. cit.*, tlaquilli is *planta or cosecha*. *Tlaquilli*, however, is given by Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 224, as "frilled flower" — probably *Mirabilis jalapa* L., known as *maravilla*. It is established. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 396, adds these common names: *San Diego de la noche, arrebolera*, and *zompantle*.

12. *Tzoncuil*. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 249, says it is like *zacamolete*: *"hacían unas ensaladas y cocimientos, y zacamolete mismo hervía, y tienen los mismos colorados. . . . comen . . . dicen, y empanan y barguellan . . . la hacían de esta vida zacatal"* (zacatonal). Emmart identifies it as *Sedum dendroideum* Moçino and Sessé — commonly, *siempreviva* (*op. cit.*, p. 223). Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 85, adds *S. guatemalense* H. B. K. and *S. racemosa* Burt.

13. Cf., however, Bolas, *op. cit.*, p. 559: *"mud bricks and Lodes and Hitzelchaut, die Brücken, Indien, rötlichen, braunen, essen es an, und Tonerdigen und Lehmsteigel und essen Tzoncuil."* Of *tzoncuil* as *sesuil*, Sahagún (*op. cit.*, p. 249) says it is a hot country plant used for coloring. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 345 (*zoncuil*), says it is *"arcilla roliza de varios colores relativamente, como el capulincillo o silgos* (Cassiopeia *salignoni*), *el tempranillo* Odontia *lanigera, y otros."*

100 -

Fortieth Chapter. Here is told how the men of Tlatilulco and Tenochtitlan and their leaders yielded to the Spaniards,[1] and what befell when they were among them.

Inic onpoualli capitulo vnca mjtoa in quenjn ie- 728
hoantin tlatilulca yoā tenuchca yoan in iuhtetocauh
in intlan oncalacque Espanoles: auh in tlein mo-
chiuh in jquac ie ixtlā cate./.

And when they had betaken themselves to bring him and disembark him, thereupon all the Spaniards came to see. They drew him along; the Spaniards took him by the hand. After that they took him up to the roof-top, where they went to stand him before the Captain, the war leader. And when they had proceeded to stand him before [Cortés], they looked at Quauhtemoc, made much of him, and stroked his hair. Then they seated him with [Cortés] and fired the guns. They hit no one with them, but only made them go off above, [so that] they passed over the heads of the common folk.[2] Then [some Mexicans] took and got into a boat and guided it there to the house of Coyouecatzin.[3] And when they arrived, then they climbed up to the roof-top, whereupon once again they slew men and many died there. But [the Mexicans] only fled. With this the war reached its end.

Auh in oconaxitito in ocontlalhoacaquixtito: nj-
man ie ic much vallachia in Españoles, quivalmoqui,
inuitiech quivalmoque in Españoles njman ie ic
quitlecavia in tlapanco ixpan conquerzato in Capitan
in iautachcauh. Auh in oixpan conquerzato, njmā
ie ic quixta, quimoottitia, quipepepetla in Quauh-
temoctzin: njman ic itlan quitlalioque yoan contlan-
que in tlequiquixtli, aiac ic quimotlaque, çan impan
quiquixtique çan jmjcpac quiz in macevalti: njman
ic cēteti convicaque, concalaquiyque in acalli: vmpa
cōvicaque in jchan Coioveuetzin. Auh in oncique:
njmā ic tlecoque in tlapanco: njman ie ic no ceppa
temjctia mjec in vncan mjc: auh çā choloque, çan
jc vmpolivito in inuiol:

Then there was shouting; they said: "Enough! Let it end! Eat gracas!" When they heard this, the common folk thereupon issued forth.[4] On this, they went, even into the lagoon.

nec valtzatzion: quixoa. Ie inquich nn quixoa, 727●
xicmoquaitiçia in quiztzintli: in oiuh quixcacque in
njman ie ic oneoa in macevalli: njman ie ic vi, çan
atlan.

And as they departed, leaving by the great road, once more they there slew some,[4] wherefore the Spaniards were wroth that still some again had taken up their obsidian-bladed swords and their shields. Those who dwelt in house clusters went straightway to Amaxac; they went direct to where the ways divide. There the common folk separated. So many[5] went toward Tepeyacac, so many toward Xoxouilti-tlan, so many toward Nonoalco. But toward Xolloco and toward Maçatzintamalco no one went.

Auh in oquiçato vei vtli ipan, ie no ceppa cequin
vmpa quinmjctia, ic qualiqui in Españoles in oc no
çan cequintin quiyquj in inmaquauh yoan inchimal:
in calli onoca quivalmolaubque in amaxac vallamo-
laoa, in vncan vei vmaxac: vncan xexelihuh in mace-
valli, inquich tepeiacac itztia, inquich xoxouhtitli
itztia, inquich nonoalco itztia. Auh in xollocopa,
yoan in maçatzintamalocpa, aiac vmpa itztia.

1. Remember: the title is omitted in the MS.

2. Probably an artillery salute, without projectiles; we know that Cortés used this system to impress the Indians. Perhaps this time it was to fire over the soul of the war (personal communication, Rafael Cortés Gonzalez).

3. Sahagún, op. cit., p. 703, implies that they brought a canoeful (*cahuaxtli cuentli*). What appears to be the corresponding Spanish text reads: "*quando este mensajero salieron dos canoas de mexicanos y entraron en la una de su principal que se llamava Coioacatzin.*"

4. Corresponding Spanish texts: "*Desde entonces fue mayor la mortandad de los mexicanos de los segundos de los segundos mexicanos.*"

5. So many: literally, all. Cf., however, Molina, op. cit.

727 481 And all who lived in boats and [in houses] on poles, and those at Tolmayecan,[6] went into the water. On some, the water reached to the stomach; some, to the chest; and on some it reached to the neck. And some were all submerged, there in the deeps. Little children were carried on the backs [of their elders]; cries of weeping arose. Some went on happy and rejoicing as they traveled crowding on the road. And those who owned boats, all the boatmen, left by night, and even [continued to] leave all day. It was as if they pushed and crowded one another as they set out.

Auh in jaqujch acalhca onoca yoan in tlapechco catca, yoan in tolmaiecan çan atlan in iaque: in aca ixillan acitiuh in atl, in aca ielchiquipan, in aca iquechtlan acitiuh: auh in aca vel polaquj, in vncan vecatlan: in pipiltzintzinti temamamalo, tlachoqujtlehua: cenquixti mopapaquiltitivi, maavichtitivi: in oconnecpanoto vtli Auh in acalaque, in jaqujch acale ça icaltica in quja, yoã tel cenjlhujxi in quiaque inhaquin moquequentivi injc vi.

727 And everywhere the Spaniards were seizing and robbing the people. They sought gold; as nothing did they value the green stone, quetzal feathers, and turquoise. [The gold] was everywhere in the bosoms or in the skirts of the wretched women. And as for the men, it was everywhere in their breech clouts and in their mouths.

Auh in jaqujcan antica tetlatlaçaltiaia in Espaſioles in teucujxtlatl qujemoa amo tle ipan qujtta, in chalchivitl, in quetzalli yoan in xivitl: noviam nemja in ixtilla in incuetitlan, in cinatzintzinti. Auh in toqujchtin noviam nemj ih imaxtlatitlan, yoan in incamac

And [the Spaniards] seized and set apart the pretty women — those of light bodies, the fair[-skinned] ones.[7] And some women, when they were [to be] assaulted, covered their faces with mud and put on old, mended skirts and rags for their shifts. They put all rags on themselves.

yoan qujmanaia, quinpepenaia in Cioa in chipavaque, in Cuxtic innacaio in cuxtique. Auh in cequjntin cioa injc motetlaçaltiaia, mjcoqujvique, yoan tatapatli in quimocuetiq tzotzomatli in quimoviplihque, çan moch tzotzomatli in intoch quiztalique.

And also some men were singled out — those who were strong, grown to manhood, and next the young boys, of whom they would make messengers, who would be their servants, and who were known as their runners. And on some they burned [brand marks] on their cheeks; on some they put paint on their cheeks; on some they put paint on their lips.

Auh no cequjntin pepenaloque in toqujchtin ieheuantin in chicaoaque in iniolloco oqujchtin yoã in quin telpupuchtotonti in quintitlanjzque, in intitlanvan ieaque, in motenteos intlamacazcaoan: cequjntin njmã quinçamatlatiq cequjntin quinçamaicujloque: cequjntin quinteniçujloque.

And when the shield was laid down, when we gave way, it was the year One Three House and the day name was One Serpent.

Auh in omomã chimalli: injc tiritinque, in xiuhtonalli ei calli. Auh in cenjlhujtlepoalli ce coatl:

728 And when Quauhtemoc went to deliver himself, up, they then took him, after nightfall, to Acachinanco. And on the morrow, when already a little sun shone, once more the Spaniards, a good many of them, came forth likewise to put an end [to the fray] — girt for war, [in] iron corselets and iron helmets, but not with their iron swords nor their shields. They all only pressed white linen cloths against their noses as they passed by; [for] the dead sickened them; they already smelled foul and stank.

Auh in jquac in ômotemacato in Quauhtemoctzin: njmã quivicaque in acachinanco in ie ioa. Auh in jmuztlaioc in ie achtõn tonatiuh, ie no ceppa vallaque in Espaſioles: vel mjequjntin, no çan iuh tlantiviaia, in tecuuchichin[8]tivitze, tepanvipilli, in tepanpucalalatli: auh aoc tle in inetpanmaquiuh, yoan aoc tle in inchimal, ça muchintin valmoiacapachotiaque intac canaoac ica qujxtlaichtiaia in mjmjcque in ie iyaia, in ie petzuj:

6. Cites, op. cit., mentions Tolmayecan (Tolmayecan?) as probably the same as Aquiac.

7. Literally, of yellow bodies, the yellow ones.

8.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651 632 Tlacotepec gave "seeds" (chian ?) among other items, which are not specified.[a]

[567 721] Zompanco sent prisoners of war to Mexico as slaves.[b] These must have been Yope prisoners, destined to be sacrificed, like those sent from Anecuilco in the province of Çihuatlan. Prisoners taken on the Oztoma frontier were usually sacrificed in the temple of the fortress, we learn, but if captives were important, they were sent to Mexico to be sacrificed.[c]

3. Tlachco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 131 The province of Tlachco, now Taxco, is depicted on the fourteenth page of the *Matricula*, copied on folio 36' of the *Codex Mendocino*. This province was situated in territory now forming the northern tip of the State of Guerrero and contained ten towns. Whereas the *Matricula* annotator identified only the town of Tlachco, the *Mendocino* identifies all towns in roman letters. The present map is based on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México." Former and present place names as given in the *Mendocino* and on the modern map are listed below:

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MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acamilyxtlahuacā, 6	Acamixtla
Chontalcoatlan, 9	[No change]
Nochtepec, 7	Noxtepec
Teotliztacan, 2	Huiztac
Tetenanco (? 5)	[See Remarks on Towns]
Teticpac, 8	Tetipac
Tlachco, 3	Taxco Viejo
Tlamacazapā, 4	Tlamacazapa
Tzicapuçalco, 1	Ixcapuzalco

One town has not been identified: Tepexahualco.

We may add the town of Çacualpā (10).

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[a] "Moteçuma enbio un capitan ... para que coxiese el tributo y semyllas que le trebutavan" (*PNE*, 6: 123).

[b] "Estavan subjetos a Monteccuma ... y le serbia este pueblo de llevarle esclavos de los [que] tomavan en la guerra, y que estos le llevavan en rreconoçimiento" (*PNE*, 6: 317).

[c] "Relación de Acapetlahuaya" (1579), in *PNE*, 6: 117: "Dixeron que todos los presos que tomavan los sacrificaron en el templo prençipal del fuerte grande, y si era persona prençipal la que prendian la embiavan a Mexico presentada a su rrey para que alla la sacrificasen."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Only in the northeast was there any contact with enemy terrain. There Tetela and Hueyapan are described as frontier towns,[*] while memory of conflict with the dwellers of the plateau also persisted in Totolapan and adjacent towns well within the province.[*]

Regional names.—The zone of the towns specified as Xochimilca, together with near-by Atlatlauca, was called Quauhtengo.[*] South of Yacapichtla lay another district referred to as the Tlalnahuac, in which Tlayacac and Tecpaçinco were prominent centers.[*]

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—In the *Matricula* we see, and in the *Mendocino* we read of, the following opulent tribute which flowed to the Triple Alliance from the province of Huaxtepec:

CLOTHING

400 bundles of loincloths**
400 bundles of women's clothing**
1,400 bundles of large mantles of "twisted" cloth**
8,000 bundles of rich little mantles**
46 warriors' costumes with shields (6 being fine pieces)*

FOOD*

4 large wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)

OTHER GOODS**

2,000 polished pottery dishes of various colors
8,000 reams of native paper

Tribute of the component towns.—Rather curiously, no details are available on the origins of the foregoing tribute, military aid and prisoners alone being mentioned.

[*] *PNE*, 6: 286.

[*] Atlatlauca, Totolapan, and Tlayacapan "trayan guerras" with "Chalco, Guexocingo, Tascala, Cholula; las quales heran sobre sus tierras" (*PNE*, 6: 9). We read in Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), §§ 1202–1203, how the people of Totolapan accompanied Nezahualpilli in a successful campaign against Huexotzinco in 11. Tochtli, 1490.

[*] "Estan las dichas tres cabezeras asentadas en tierra llana, çercadas de montes y sierras no muy altos: llamase la Probincia Quahutengo, y dixose asi porque los mas de sus subjetos estan poblados en montes, y en la dicha lengua se dize el monte quahutla o quahutengo" (*PNE*, 6: 10).

[*] RHE, 1: 224: "Los pueblos de la tlalnahuac son catorze cabeçeras caen casi todas desta villa [Yacapichtla] á la parte del sur dizen llamarse asi porque es tierra llana y mas caliente questa la una cabeçera dizen que antiguamante no abia mas de dos cabeçeras que heran tequepaçinco y tlayalaque y que los demas heran estançias y asi agora se nombran catorze cabeçeras."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Atlatlauca, Totolapan, and Tlayacapan gave no tribute because they were near the frontier, as mentioned above.[80]

Yacapichtla seems to have made a tribute of prisoners.[81]

24. Tlalcoçauhtitlan

Sources of the Map

Page 18 of the *Matricula* depicts three provinces, their town glyphs and tribute being ranged in vertical sections. The left-hand section, in which the cabecera is identified in roman letters, sets forth the province of Tlalcoçauhtitlan. This part of the page is copied in the *Codex Mendocino* as the top section of folio 40'. The province lay in central-eastern Guerrero and consisted of eight towns, four of which have been identified—chiefly on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society (sheet "Ciudad de México"). Former and present name forms are listed below:

Mendocino	Millionth Map
Ahuaçiçinco, 4	Ahuacuotzingo
Mitzinco, 3	Mitlalcingo
Tlalcoçauhtitlã, 2	Tlalcozotitlán
Tolimani, 1	Tulimán

Four other towns remain to be located: Quauhtecomaccinco, Tepuztitlã, Ychcatlan, and Çacatla.

Remarks on Towns

Quauhtecomaccinco, according to one lone reference, was four leagues from Olinalá.[82]

Tepuztitlan may be a Tepuztlan San Miguel, subject to Chiautla, from which it lay eight leagues distant.[83]

Ychcatlan was four leagues from Tlalcoçauhtitlan "de muy mal camino de sierras"[84] and eighteen leagues from Tlapan, being an estancia of Tenango.[85]

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[80] "El señor natural ... fue Montezuma, al qual no tributaban, porque solo le servian en las guerras" (*PNE*, 6: 8).

[81] The "Relación de Yecapichtla," after stating (RHE, 1: 225) that "aunque motençuma los quiso señorear no pudo vençellos y asi estuvieron siempre de por si y sobre si," admits (p. 227) that "los que de aquellos prendian los llevaban a presentar a motençuma."

[82] *PNE*, 5: 210.

[83] *GPM*, p. 112.

[84] *PNE*, 5: 250.

[85] *GPM*, p. 104.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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happened, and not as the historian Gomara has written it, for he says in his history that Pedro de Ircio went to settle at Panuco with certain soldiers. I do not know how, owing to a misunderstanding, so eloquent an historian could make such a statement. All the soldiers that Cortés had with him in Mexico did not number four hundred, and most of them had been wounded in the battles at Tlaxcala and Tabasco and we had not sufficient men to keep a good watch, much less for sending to settle at Panuco. Moreover he says that Pedro de Ircio went as their captain, when he was not a captain and not even an officer at that time, and they did not employ him nor take any notice of him, and he remained with us in Mexico. The same historian also says many other things about the imprisonment of Montezuma. I do not understand his writing, and stare at it when he writes such things in his history, for there must be conquistadores alive who were there at the time, who when they read it will tell him, that this did not take place in such a manner. In this other matter he says what he likes, so let us leave him there and return to our story.

The Mexican Captains after the battle with Escalante that I have spoken about, sent the news of it to Montezuma, and even sent and presented to him the head of Argüello, who it seems died of his wounds on the road, for they had carried him off alive. We heard that when they showed the head, which was large and strong looking and had a large curly beard, to Montezuma, he was terrified and feared to look at it, and ordered that it should not be taken as an offering to any temple in Mexico, but to some other Idol in another town. Montezuma asked his Captains how it was that having such thousands of warriors with them, they had not conquered such a small number of Teules, and they replied that their darts and arrows and hard fighting availed them nothing, and they could not drive their enemy

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727 to flight because a great *Teleçiguata*[1] of Castile marched before them, and this Lady frightened the Mexicans and said words to encourage the Teules. Then Montezuma thought that great Lady must be Saint Mary who we had told him was our protector, and whose image, with her precious Son in her arms, we had given to him some time before. However, I did not see this myself, for I was in Mexico, but certain conquistadores who were present say so, and pray God that it was so, and certainly all the soldiers who were with Cortés believed it and so it is true, and the divine pity of Our Lady the Virgin Mary was ever with us, for which I give her many thanks. I will leave off here and go on to narrate what happened about the seizure of the Great Montezuma.

CHAPTER XCV.

Of the Seizure of Montezuma and what was done about it.

000 As we had determined the day before to seize Montezuma, we were praying to God all that night that it would turn out in a manner redounding to His Holy service, and the next morning the way it should be done was settled.

Cortés took with him five captains who were Pédro de Alvarado, Gonzalo de Sandoval, Juan Velásquez de Leon, Francisco de Lugo and Alonzo de Ávila, and he took me and our interpreters Doña Marina and Aguilar, and he told us all to keep on the alert, and the horsemen to have their horses saddled and bridled. As for our arms I need not call them to mind, for by day or night we always went armed and with our sandals on our

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[1] Tequeçihuata in the text.

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

retreat began on one side, and an equally rapid pursuit on the other.[165] The objective point of this retreat was the settlement or "pueblo" of the attacked tribe, but if the vanquished succeeded in placing between them and their pursuers some natural obstacle, like a river, or deep ravine, or if they took refuge upon a wooded range of steep hills, then the victors were arrested, as they seldom ventured to attack when this attack necessitated a strong simultaneous effort on the part of the whole force.[166] Still less could they execute rapid flank-movements. In course of time they might circumvent certain obstacles, but then their supplies were so limited that, if there was no positive indication of success, either in storming the position *without great danger*, or in carrying it within a very *short time* by some rude feint, they preferred to desist from further endeavors, and to return home with whatever spoils the battlefield alone had furnished. Thus they "collared"[167] their captives (which had been carefully watched behind the battle-front) and returned to Mexico in moderate triumph, leaving it to future times to proclaim: that such and such a tribe had been subdued by them, whereas they had only defeated it in one engagement, and the tribe had still preserved afterwards its complete independence.[168]

"ticitl" a physician or diviner. Both agree very well with the conception of an Indian "medicine-man." There are, besides, evidences that priests went to war also, and I would suggest that it may have been a part of their duties to care for the wounded. A certain class of priests were called "tlamacazqui," certainly derived from "tlama," physician or doctor.

[165] A slow and orderly retreat is a movement hardly known to Indians. They rush either way, advancing or retiring. Even the return of the Mexicans from the unsuccesful onslaught on the Tarasca (Tezozomoc, Cap. LII. p. 84) was as near to a disorderly flight as possible. Durán says (Cap. XXXVII, p. 291): "El rey Axayacatl mandó "alçar su real, y asi como huyendo y medio afrentado, con la poca gente que le auia "quedada, todo desbaratado y lo mas de la gente herida."

[166] Mendieta (Lib. II, p. 131): "Those who gained the battle continued the pursuit "until the opponents reached some place where they could fortify themselves." Also, Tezozomoc (Cap. XXII, p. 34, and cap. LVII, p. 94).

[167] If, on the battlefield, a captive still resisted, they cut the tendons of his feet, thus rendering him incapable of motion. After the action the prisoners were secured by wooden collars ("cuauh-cozcatl") and thus they were led home in the van of the returning force. Arrived at Mexico they were conducted first to the chief-teocalli, and after prostrating themselves before the idol of Huitzilopochtli, *were marched around the great stone of sacrifice.* (Compare the relation of Adair, "History of the American Indians," Argument XVI, pp. 165 and 167.—Return of a Chikkasah war party from a foray into Illinois, in 1765.)

[168] Such was the case with Mextitlan (Cap. LVII, p. 94, of Tezozomoc, and Durán, Cap. XL, p. 314). Tizoczic made about 40 prisoners, and returned with the loss of 300 men ("Y que con aquello auian los contrarios recogidose a' sus lugares"). Still it is mentioned by Ixtlilxochitl as subject and tributary to the valley tribes.

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Then, but only then, ladders were constructed,[173] and with due precaution and under cover of various feints, the walls were scaled.[174] A regular siege was out of the question, the Mexicans not being provided for a protracted stay outside of their territory. They might lie in wait or hover around the enemy's defenses for a short time, bent upon attempting a surprise of some kind, but if the place could not be carried at a rush in some way the assailants finally had to abandon the attack and return home.[175]

We have heretofore presupposed that the tribe assailed by the Mexicans had been formally challenged, or at least notified of their coming. But this was not always the case. In many instances the Mexicans made their attack without previous warning, and a nocturnal surprise was attempted which was almost sure to succeed.

It is next to superfluous to venture a description of such a nightly onslaught. The scene, like that of the surprise of any settlement whatever by Indians during the hours of darkness, may be faintly imagined, but not adequately told. The main sallies and entries were occupied by the assailants,—creeping up stealthily,—the chief "teo-calli" surrounded, then the war-whoop was raised, and the miserable inhabitants of the pueblo realized at once that they were doomed. Few survivors only remained on such occasions, and even these, unless the tribe surrendered at the first on-

tutepec had been sacked, the Mexicans moved upon Quetzaltepec, which was well fortified, and whose people sallied forth to meet the Mexicans in the open field three days in succession, until the third day at last they were signally defeated, and the defenses scaled in a rush.

[173] Tezozomoc (Caps. XC and XCI). Durán (Cap. LVI, p. 448). The former describes these ladders ("escalas") minutely, giving their size and the number used.

[174] Tezozomoc speaks of archers posted outside, protecting by a shower of missiles the ascent of the scaling party or parties, while other bodies were burrowing through the wall. Durán gives a more plausible statement (p. 448): "Otro día salió al campo la "gente tepaneca con toda su provincia, que era gran numero de gente, la qual se vvo "tan valerosamente, que no los pudiendo resistir los de la ciudad, se empeçaron a' re- "traer hacia el muro. Monteçuma, viendo que los tepanecas peleaban tan valerosamente "y que hacian retirar al enemigo, mandó tocar al arma, y en un punto salió el Mexicano "al campo y por otra parte el tezcucano, y arremetiendo todos de trapel, apellidando "los unos Mexico, Mexico, los otros Tezcuco, Tezcuco, acudieron cada uno por su "parte rompiendo por el exercito de los enemigos; y aunque de las murallas recibiar "gran daño de las piedras grandes y troços de palos que arrojaban, llegaron a' ella y "arrimando escalas, y otros, como gatos, subieron por ella, y otros cabando por el "cimiento ganaron la primera cerca." This shows that indeed it was carried at a rush.

[175] For this reason the wars with the neighboring tribes of Tlaxcallan, Huexotzinco, and Cholullan, took the shape of regular fights at stated times. A long campaign was out of all question. We may, in the course of this essay, investigate shortly the question of the wars between Mexico and Tlaxcallan, although it is not properly pertaining to the object of the present discussion.

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726 727 set, were all carried into captivity except such as could escape into the wilderness lying beyond their cultivated areas of soil.[176]

726 175 The Mexicans, however, were not exclusively successful on their numerous forays and expeditions. More than once they met with severe defeats, and on one occasion even, in their attack upon Michhuacan, in 1479, they were so terribly beaten that they never afterwards renewed the attempt.[177]

726 Besides, in their constant wars against the rival confederacy, also of "Nahuatl" stock, at whose head was the tribe of *Tlaxcallan* or Tlascala, the fortunes of the day often turned against the Mexican invaders, or at least assailants.[178] In the first instance, that of the defeat in Michhuacan, the Mexicans actually fled from the battlefield in consternation, pursued by the victorious enemy across the "war-ground," but no further.[179] The engagements with the tribes of Tlaxcallan, Huexotzinco, or Cholula, were fought so near the valley that even if the Mexicans had been worsted during the day, they could retire quietly and mostly unmolested the next morning.[180] The manner in which such retreats were carried on is hardly known.

[176] Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXXIV, p. 148) describes as follows the attack upon Nopallan and Yepatepec: "Arriving at midnight, they moved so secretly that they reached the "royal house, counted the entrances and sallies, ascended to the top of the temple," etc., etc. Then the scouts returned to the main temple, reporting upon what they had found, and when the morning star arose they fell upon the settlement, "each body "moving like a strong wall and with the swiftness of lightning, ... and they "began to slaughter so furiously that neither old people, nor women, nor children "were spared, and they set fire to the houses, also to the temple, so that the place "looked like a volcano." (Compare the reports upon the burning of Schenectady by the French and Indians, in 1690,—contained in vol. I, of "Documentary History of the "State of New York," pp. 297-312.)

[177] Tezozomoc (Cap. LII). Durán (Cap. XXXVII). The date is fixed by Señor Alfredo Chavero, of Mexico, in his valuable essay entitled "Calendario Azteca" (p. 4).

[648] [178] This confederacy consisted of Tlaxcallan and Huexotzinco,—perhaps also Atlixco. Cholula may, to a certain extent, have been included in it, but it was certainly not any longer the case when Cortés arrived. On the contrary, Cholula was then on friendly terms with Mexico. Cortés says ("Carta Segunda," Vedia I, p. 19): "por- "que los naturales della eran amigos de Mutecçuma;" and, further on (p. 21), "y fice "que los desta ciudad de Churultecal, y los de Tascaltecal fuesen amigos, porque lo "solian ser antes, y muy poco tiempo habia que Mutecçuma con dadivas los habia "aducido a' su amistad, y hechos enemigos de estotros."

[179] The pursuit lasted until they reached Tlaximaloyan (Tagimaroa), at the confines of Toluca. Tezozomoc (Cap. LII, p. 85): "Llego' el campo Tarasco hasta Tagi- "maroa, que dizen Tlaximoyalan: los otros que habian llegado hasta los terminos de "Toluca se volvieron, viendo que su campo ño llegava: al iva adelante." The pursuit of the Michhuacanese consisted in harassing the Mexicans with arobers, but no close combats are mentioned.

[648 721] [180] The wars of the Mexicans against Tlaxcallan and its associates were a struggle for definitive supremacy, and not, as many authors have it, pre-arranged regular bat-

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

174 the Mexican tribe in a more direct manner. It was the overthrow
648 and capture, after a short but bloody struggle, of the pueblo of Tlatilulco.[56] Owing to the close connection of the latter with the Mexicans both had remained on a non-hostile footing; for the suspicious watchfulness with which each viewed the other did not comport with any more intimate relations, those of trade and exchange excepted. When the confederacy came into existence, Tlatilulco was counted in as a part of Mexico, since its people acknowledged themselves to be Mexicans; but there is no evidence authorizing the conclusion that the Tlatilulca played any other role, beyond that of auxiliaries to their kindred of Tenuchtitlan.[57] The rash attempt of the former at the organization of a conspiracy to become "Mexico alone" terminated fatally; their place was taken and barbarously sacked, their leaders were killed in the fray or sacrificed afterwards, and the Mexicans, exasperated at the conduct of their treacherous kinsmen treated them in an unusually severe manner. We have seen already that, in any conquest, the conquered tribe, if not exterminated, was only subjected to more or
[562] less heavy tribute. But the Tlatilulca were dealt with far worse:
174 they were degraded to the rank of "*women*," their public market
648 was ordered closed, their council-house left to decay and their
727 young men, expressly debarred from the privilege of carrying arms in aid of the Mexicans, were required to become the carriers of supplies to their captors. Such a punishment was unknown in the annals of Indian conquest, and appears even to militate against our views of aboriginal society in Mexico; still it was in perfect harmony with the institutions of the latter. The Tlatilulca were, as we should never forget, not only a tribe

[56] The "*Codex Telleriano-Remensis*" (Plate XIV, also explanation Vol. VI, p. 138), concurs in this date, or the year seven "calli" which is indeed 1473.

[57] This acknowledgment—"to be Mexicans"—on the part of the inhabitants of Tlatilulco, was in the nature of a *claim*, and with a spirit of jealousy and envy. Although *Durán* says (Cap. XXXII, p. 257), "aviendo estado hasta entonces sujetos á la corona real de Méjico," this affirmation is utterly disproven, not only by all the other sources, but by his own statements (Cap. V, pp. 43 and 46). The confused and contradictory tales about the state of war preceding the formation of the confederacy still make the Tlatilulca always appear as assisting their neighbors of Tenuchtitlan, more or less. Sometimes they were neutral only, and at times they may have felt inclined to foster attempts at destruction of their rivals by outsiders, but they still were afraid of the consequences of it for their own independence. *Durán* (Cap. V, p. 46). The singular statement that the Tlatilulca even attempted, though fruitlessly, to withdraw the Tezcucans and Tlacopans from Tenuchtitlan, inducing them to become their associates in the work of its overthrew, is significant. See *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. LVIII, p. 176) "Quisose aliar con los de Tlacupa, y Tetzcoco, los quales no le acudieron."

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connected, through stock-language or even dialect, with the Mexicans, but they were actually "kin of their own kin." Their punishment therefore was that of a crime committed against kinship and tribe. As we shall hereafter attempt to show, such delicts entailed death. Instead of exterminating a whole settlement however, the Mexicans treated the survivors as *outcasts from the bond of kinship*, degrading them to manual, therefore female labor.[58]

[174] [648] [727] [558]

"The descriptions of the capture of Tlatilulco by the Mexicans, while "Face in the Water" (Axayacatl) was the latter's head war-chief, are so numerous, and in their features as far as the subject of this paper is concerned, so generally concordant, that I may be permitted to forego quotations. I simply refer to the best known authors on ancient Mexico in general. Still, these authors seem to report but the "Tenuchcan" side of the story. Although *Beturini* ("Idea" "*Catalogo del Museo Indiano*," p. 23), mentions the copy of "Un Mapa en papel Européo, donde estan pintados los Reyes de Tlatilulco, y de México" as the only specifically "Tlatilulcan" document of which he knows, there still is preserved to us a tale of the overthrow of the pueblo of Tlatilulco, which bears distinctly the stamp of a genuine Tlatilulcan version. We owe it to *Oviedo y Valdés* ("*Historia general y nat. de Indias*," Lib. XXXIII, cap. XLVI, pp. 504 and 505). "Avia dos parcialidades ó bandos en aquella república, la una se decia Mexicanos, é la otra Tlatebulcos, como se dice en Castilla Oneçinos ó Gamboinos, ó Giles é Negretes. Y estos dos apellidos tenvieron grandes diferencias: é Monteçuma, como era mañoso, fingió grande amistad con el señor principal del bando Tlatebulco, que se decia por sus nombre proprio Samalce, é tomóle por yerno, é dióle una su hija, por le asegurar. Con este debdo, en cierta fiesta é convite á este Samalce, é á todos sus capitanes é parientes é hombres principales, hizolos embeodar: é desque estuvieron bien tomados del vino, hiçolos atar é sacrificarlos á todos, sacándoles los coraçones vivos, como lo tienen por costumbre. E los que padescieron esta crueldad passaban de mil hombres, señores principales; é tomóles las casas é quanto tenian, é pobiólas de sus amigos é de los de la otra parçialidad Mexicana. É á todos los que tuvo por sospechosos, desterróles de la ciudad, que fuéron mas de quatro mil hombres; y en los bienes é moradas destos hiço que viviessen los que el quiso enriquesar con bienes agenos. É aquellos que desterró, hiço que poblassen quatro leguas de allí, en un pueblo que de aquella gente se hiço, que se llama Mezquique, é que le sirviessen de perpétuos esclavos. É assi como la cibdad se deçia, y es su proprio nombre Temistitan, se llamó é llama por muchos México dende aquella maldad cometida por Monteçuma." This story is repeated by him with less detail (Cap. I, p. 533). Although manifestly incorrect, it is still interesting to compare with the current version.

The punishment which the Tlatilulca received, is also mentioned by a number of authors. The prominent sources, however, are: *Durán* (Cap. XXXIV, pp. 270 and 271), *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XLVI, pp. 74 and 75). Both of these relate that, besides, the great market place of Tlatilulco about which the latter says: "that the tianguis (market) was esteemed beyond, as if they had gained five tribes." The Tlatilulca were, as we shall hereafter see, mostly traders and, as one of their old men is made to say to "Face in the Water," by *Tezozomoc* (p. 74): "We are traders, merchants, and will give you (follows a long list of articles promised) . . . . . since by force of arms this tianguis has been gained." *Durán*, (p. 270): "After this was done, the King commanded that this place and market which they had gained should be distributed among the lords, since the Tlatilulca had no other soil." Compare also the statements in regard to trading and bartering in aboriginal Mexico, and to the beginning of the traders at Tlatilnco, in *Sahagun* (Lib. IX. cap. I, pp. 335 and 336). [441]

"Kin of their own kin." In regard to this statement I beg to refer to one made by *Veytia* (Lib. II, cap. XV, p. 135): "Some modern national writers say that this separation did not occur precisely as between nobles and plebeyans, but that eight families

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population of "hangers-on to the tribe." This class was yet not very numerous; still it grew slowly and steadily. Prohibited from carrying arms, and therefore from taking any part in warfare other than that of carriers and, perhaps, runners, the heavy drudgery of work was at their charge.[89] Even the tillage of lots appears to have been frequently assigned to them, and it may be that what is commonly termed the class of "macehuales" consisted of the outcasts who improved "tlalmilpa" for the benefit of members of the kin.[90] Besides, it is distinctly implied, if not stated,

(Lib. II, cap. XLV, pp. 134-183; cap. LXII, p. 184; Lib. XIII, cap. XII, p. 436). *H. H.* *Bancroft* (Vol. II. p. 276) admits two classes of concubines for married people, one of which he calls "the less legitimate wives." Among other authorities, he adduces in evidence *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. I, p. 200): "Tenia esto Olintech treynta mugeres dentro de su casa, con quien el dormia, á las quales servian mas de ciento otras." The same statement is also found in *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," etc., Vedia I. p. 336) and others. (The name for the mistress ("manceba") of a *married* man is "teichtacamecauh" (*Molina*, I, p. 81), which means literally "thy secret tie," from "Tehuatl"—"thou, "ichtaca"—secretly (II, p. 38), and "mecatl"—rope or cord (II. 56). See in a further note.

The most significant statements, however, are those already reported, of Motolinia and of Gomara, that the Indians explained their polygamy by the fact that *they kept those women for their work*. In other words, they were purchased hands. This is indicated by the following authorities: *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," etc., Vedia I, p. 441), "Las malas mujeres de su cuerpo, que lo daban de balde si no las querian pagar, se vendian par esclavas por traerse bien, ó cuando ninguno las queria, por viejas ó feas ó enfermas; que nadie pide por las puertas." *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XVI, p. 563): "Havia tambien mugeres, que se daban á vivir sueltas, y libertadamente; y para proseguir este mal Estado, que tomaban, tenian necesidad de vestir curiosa, y galanamente, y por la necesidad, que pasaban, porque no trabajaban . . . . llegaban á necesitarse mucho, y hacianse Esclavas;" and the same authority adds (Cap. XVII, p. 566): "y muchas veces los Amos se casaban, con Esclavas suias," without any closer definition however. Finally, the *Andeime* says (p. 367): "Nelle nozze di questa patrona principale fanno alcune cirimonie, il che non si osserva nelle nozze dell' altre."

There is no evidence that a married man could increase the number of his women even with the consent of the parents, in other words, marry a girl. But if the latter had, through her own lewd conduct, become abandoned and cast off, then he could associate with her as his mistress without regard to his wife proper. Also he might purchase (or rather barter for) a female and afterwards make a concubine of her, even if she was of a foreign tribe. Prisoners of war (females) may occasionally have been spared also, but this suggestion rests on very slight evidence (compare "*Andeime*," p. 373), and may apply only to prisoners of war purchased from other tribes (*Sahagun*, Lib. I, cap. XIX. p. 39).

[89] They were the "tamenes," carriers. The Mexican word is "tlamama," from "tlacatl"—man, and "nitla-mama"—to carry a load (*Molina*, II, p. 51). *Don Antonio de Mendoza*, "*Avis sur les Prestations personelles*," etc., p. 336, Ternaux, Recueil). *Zurita* (pp. 250, 251, and 260) "*Lettre des auditeurs Salmeron, Maldonado, Ceynos et Quiroga a l'Imperatrice*." (Mexico, 20 March, 1531, in 2d Recueil, etc., pp. 143 and 144): "Les Indiens ont de tout temps porté des fardeaux, ils y sont accoutumés . . ."

[90] This is a mere suggestion. The majority of descriptions, however, are such that the "mazehual" may have been, and probably was, a member of the kin. Still, in such cases, when that member could not improve his lots himself, families of "bondsmen" may have done the work for him, and thus become included in the general picture. Quotations are superfluous, since the information is not, as yet, positive enough.

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618 346 only established within that kin's territory, but it is also recognized even at the central medicine-lodge of the tribe.

727 A further evidence of it is found in the manner of distribution of the captives, upon the return of a successful war-party. It is known that prisoners were always offered up to the idols. Such a person, therefore, as soon as secured, became an object of "medicine;" he was so to say a sacred object. Well treated as long as he was not needed for the slaughter-block, nothing could in the end save him from sacrifice. But this sacrifice itself was not made in behalf of his captor, but on behalf and for the *kin* to whom the captor belonged. Therefore upon arrival at the pueblo, the prisoners of war were turned over to the respective calpulli as their share thus furnishing another illustration of "Separate Rites of Worship" of the kins composing the ancient Mexicans.[118]

000 Having already discussed, in a former paper, the *tenure of Lands and customs of Inheritance*[119] we now pass on to one of the most essential features of tribal society, and one which involves some of the vital points of organization and customs.

618 681 *The kin was obligated to protect and defend the persons and property of its members, and to resent and punish any injury done to them, as if it were a crime committed against the kin itself.*[120]

The impression justly prevails, that the so-called "penal code" of the Mexicans was simple but severe, death being, in most instances, the punishment of offenders. This resulted, in a great measure, from the fact that any offence against an individual

[118] *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVII. p. 128), rather contradicts himself when he says first: that the captive belonged to his captor, but at the same time, that this captor was even killed if he *gave* away his prisoner to another man. Second: that each one had to watch his own prisoners, and at the same time they were guarded in common, and at the risk of the "barrio" or kin, which was responsible for their safe keeping. *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. III, p. 540) copies this almost literally. Much more positive and clear is *Durán* (Cap. XIX. pp. 172 and 173): "mandó Tlacaelel repartir los cautivos, porque eran muchos, por todos los barrios y que cada barrio se encargase de guardar y sustentar tantos . . . . . Los mandones de los barrios repartieron los presos á cada barrio, á como les cauia." (Cap. XXI, p. 186): "Montecçuma los mandaua vestir y adereçar y llamanava á los Calpixques, que son los mandoncillos de los barrios, y entreganaalas, para que tuviesen cuidado dellos, diciendo que eran la merced del sol, Señor de la tierra, que los dana para el sacrificio." (Id., cap. XXII, p. 192. Cap. XXVIII, p. 267): "luego fuéron repartidos entre los barrios y encomendados á los mandoncillos." (Cap. XLII, p. 343, etc.). *Tezcucmoc* ("*Crenica*," cap. XXIX, p. 45; XXXII, p. 51; XXXIII, p. 53; XXXVIII, p. 61; XLIX, p. 90, etc.), confirms Durán as might be expected.

[119] "*Tenure of Lands and Customs of Inheritance*," 11th *Report of Peabody Museum*, 1878.

[120] "*Ancient Society*," (pp. 76 and 77). Compare *H. Ludos* ("*Geschichte des teutschen Volkes*," pp. 301 and 303), among the ancient Germans.

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him with downcast eyes was not so much a mark of particular respect, as a thoroughly Indian habit of shy suspicion, common

A third eye-witness, *Andrés de Tapia* ("Relacion," etc., Col. de Doc's, II, p. 579), simply says: "The said Moteczuma went in the middle of the street, and all the rest of the people were along the walls, close to them, as such is their custom."

The version of Bernal Diaz is corroborated by *Oviedo* ("Hist. general," etc., Lib. XXXIII, cap. XLV, p. 306), from information derived by him of "some knights and soldiers who had taken part in the conquest of New Spain" (Title of Chapter XLV, p. 494). But the old chronicler does not give the names of his informants.

The same question recurs here, which we have already discussed in regard to the fights with the Tlaxcaltecs ("*Art of War*," p. 135, note 203), and here again we reach the same conclusion namely: that Bernal Diaz de Castillo, "bent upon recollecting personal incidents, and, from his subaltern position" less able to see closely, in this instance, magnifies the importance of the action beyond the limits of truth.

It is easily noticed, how much more sober, and therefore less pompous, are the statements of the Spanish commander and of his lieutenant, than those of the common soldiers, including Oviedo's anonymous informants. And it should be remembered that Cortés, who was the chief actor in the scene, certainly saw *more* of it and saw it far better than any of the others. Furthermore, at the time he wrote his report (the 30 of October, 1520, or only about one year after the date of the occurrence), Cortés had personal and political motives to magnify and embellish the picture. If his statements, therefore, fall far below those of his troopers in thrilling and highly colored details, there is every reason to believe that they are the more reliable and trustworthy.

Referring, therefore, to the description by Cortés, we find, on the whole, nothing but a barbarous display common to other Indian celebrations of a similar character. Of the Mexicans themselves, a number of such receptions are related by aboriginal authors. I particularly refer to *Tezcucano* ("*Crónica*," etc., Cap. XXVII, pp. 41 and 42). Upon the return of the Mexicans from their successful raid on Tecaisachaico and Tepeaca: "the Mexicans were received in triumph, with horns, trumpets (?), flowers, and frankincense. The old men of the tribe, carrying censers and roses, stood in two rows on each side of the way, their hair tied on the back of their heads with strips of red leather, called cuauhtlalpiloni, with shields in their hands, rods—cuauhtopilli,—and rattles, in token of old age and of being fathers to such braves. Between them the Mexican troop had to pass,—and these are called cuecuaculiltin,—taking in the middle the captains, and the prisoners which they had brought from the four pueblos;" also (Cap. XXIX), though it is less explicit, about the return from the foray against the Huaxtecas; (Cap. XXXVIII p. 62), speaking of the return from the foray against Huaxaca: "Then Moctezuma commanded to all the old men and to the principal Mexicans to go out and receive the returning warriors with much mirth and joy. They met them in the road, and greeted them, incensing them with much copal, which is like unto myrrh, and a mark of great honor, token of triumph in war;" (Cap. XLIX, p. 79): "At Mazatzintamalco (which has since become garden of the Marquis del Valle), the old men, Cuauhnehuenques, and the Mexican council were arrayed in line to receive him, each one with his calabash-rattle, and armed with shields and macanas, wearing icheahuipiles, and with the hair tied up on the back of the head with straps of red leather. Along the road there were, at intervals, bowers and huts decked with roses, and the old men joined the procession which moved into Mexico-Tenuchtitlan, directly up to the temple of Huitzilopochtli." This was when "Face in the Water" returned from the raid against the Matlatzincas;—(Cap. LII, p. 85) when the same "chief of men" returned, beaten and defeated by the Tarasca of Michhuacan, the same reception was made to him, only with greater and wails of grief and mourning;—also (Cap. LVIII, p. 96, Cap. LXII, p. 104, etc., etc.). It follows from the above that the reception of Cortés and whatever barbarous display attended it, was strictly according to established custom. Similar receptions were made to trading companies returning with particular success. *Sahagun* (Lib. IX, cap. II, p. 388). "They went in procession like two files, one of priests and the other of chiefs, and they met them in

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nate results. It certainly required men of capacity and experience to fill such a position, and we need not wonder, therefore, if the "calpixca," whom Cortés met among the Totonacas of the coast, wore the distinctive tokens of chiefs.[299]

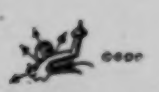
The conditions of tribute were various. Some tribes delivered their contributions every eighty days, whilst others sent them in annually.[300] In most cases, they had to be carried to Mexico-Tenuchtitlan by the tributaries, or at least, the delivery was at their charge.[301] This was done frequently by prisoners of war, made by the tributary pueblo and sent as part of the tribute itself.[302] The "calpixqui", superintended this intercourse, he verified the articles received, and again dispatched them, properly, to the "seat and home" of the Mexicans. All this necessitated

[299] *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. XLVI, pp. 40 and 41).

[300] The most complete record of tributes which we possess, until now, is contained in the so-called *Codex Mendoza* (Parte Segunda, plates XIX to LVII, inclusive). A full discussion of the multifarious details thereof is impossible here. It would require an essay by itself, which, however instructive it might be, would largely exceed the limits of this paper. Of course, not all the authorities agree with them. I merely refer, in addition, to *Durán* (Cap. XXV), *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. LI, pp. 535, 6 and 7), *Clavigero* (Lib VII, cap. XV). *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXV), the latter as well as *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. LIII, pp. 167 and 168) confining himself to the Texcucans and their tributaries exclusively. See furthermore, *Zurita* (pp. 246, 247 and 248), *Ramirez de Fuenleal* (Letter, p. 251). It is also interesting to consult the statements gathered on the tribute question, from tribes subject to the Mexicans. See, on *Chalco*, *Fray Domingo de la Anunciacion* (*Letter* dated: Chalco, 20 Sept., 1554, 2d "Recueil" of Mr. Ternaux-Compans. pp. 223 and 224): on *Matlatzinco*, *Zurita* (pp. 394-397), *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVIII, p. 140). The latter mostly copies from Zurita. Finally, much information as to the details can be gathered from the "*Codice Ramirez*" (pp. 62 and 65), and especially from the traditions on the forays and dashes of the Mexicans contained in the specifically Mexican sources already quoted.

[301] *Tenamoc* (Cap. XXVII, p. 41, Cap. XXXIII, p. 82, Cap. LXI, p. 102, etc., etc.). *Durán* (Cap. LXIX, p. 171): "Pues miré que lo auia de llevar á México vosotros mesmos. Ellos respondiéron que les placia de lo llevar allá y serullos, ..." (Cap. XXII. p. 281): "y que se obligasen á traello á México. . . ." (Cap. XXIV, p. 206, Cap. XXV, p. 208, etc., etc., etc.)

[302] *Durán* (Cap. XXV, pp. 212 and 213). Such female slaves became concubines. The various tribes exchanged also their prisoners of war, one tribe buying (exchanging for products of the soil or for manufactures) of another those prisoners which it had received as such tribute, and also presenting each other on solemn occasions with such prisoners. There are many illustrations of this to be found. Thus the markets of aboriginal Mexico also had "slaves," for sale, who were obtained in this manner. They were not numerous, and did not form a class, only an object of medicine subject to exchange and barter. *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," p. 35, Vedia I) only speaks of "bonded people" standing in the markets" or "outcasts" ready to "bind" themselves—"to let." But *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. XCII, p. 88, Vedia II), evidently describes such unfortunate people: "é trainlos atados en unas varas largas, con collares á los pescuesos porque no se les huyesen, y otros dejaban sueltos." The same author (Cap. XLVI, p. 41) mentions the demand made upon the "Totobaca's" of the coast by the Mexican "calpixca" for "twenty Indians of both sexes to pacify their Gods therewith." This is confirmed in a general way by *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," p. 13, Vedia I).



Twelfth Chapter, which telleth of still other houses. Some were only indifferent and some were in no way good.

Inic matlactlomoeze capitulo: itechpa tlatna, in oc cequj calli, cequj çan tlanepantla ca, cequj vel njman amo qualli.

The time of the day sign Four Wind was said to be good and bad. For then were slain those called doers of evil, the adulterers. They placed their heads in a noose and choked, strangled, or hanged them, or struck them on the back of the head, or crushed their skulls under a rock. Only at night were they killed; when it dawned, and they were already bloated, they cast them each into the water. Likewise then died some of the captives. Through them, so it was said, Moctezuma received new life (as hath been told) on [the day sign] One Rain, when [the Goddesses] descended. And this was also the time that the [aforementioned] demons and sorcerers destroyed people. And since there was fear on this day sign, Four Wind, everywhere they put cardoon[1] into the smoke openings [of the houses]. They stuffed and crammed it in. Thereby, so it was said, they frightened them away.

In jpan nauhecatl tonalli, mjtoa qualli, ioan amo qualli, ca vncan mjctiloia, quinquechmecanjaia, quinquechtzonviaia, quinmecanjaia, quinpiloa, quincuexcochviviteq̃uj, quinquatepipitzinja, in motenteoa tlaçolchiuhque, in tetlaxinque, çan ioan in mjctiloia, in oallatvi ie tlacujtlapoçaoa, atlan quimoonmamaisvi. No ioan cequjn vncan mjquja in mamalti, iuh mjtoa: ca ichoan inca mozcaltiaia in Motecuçoma (in iuh omoteneuh) jpan ce quiauitl in vncan temoa: auh ie no vncan tepopoloaia, in omotencuhque tlatlacateculo, in nanaoalti, auh injc imacaxoia, in jpan in tonalli nauecatl in tlecalco noujian caaqujaia, in tlacateculexocovitztli, quipopotzaqujaia, quicacatztzaia: iuh mjtoa ca ic quinpeviaia.

Auh in ichoantin pochteca, in moteneoa: acxoteca, in oztomeca, in motlacamati, iê quivcimatia, quimaviztiliaia, ca vncan quitotonjaia, in ixquich tlaçotli quitlatiaia, in chalchiujtl, in chalchiuhtli, in quetzalchalchiuhtli, in ololiuhquj, in tomatic, in acatic, in ie ixquich cozcatl, in cozcapetlatl, in patlaoac, in pitzaoac, xiujtl: auh in ixquich nepapan ivitl, in quetzalli

1. *Xuxuteotl.* — Francisco J. Santamaría: *Diccionario general de americanismos* (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1942), Vol. II, p. 154: *jurnito* — *Bromelia pinguin L. "En México, nombre vulgar de una planta de las regiones tropicales, que crece como un manojo de alambres y cuya hoja remojamos a las de la piña. . . . propiedad antiescorbútica."*

2. Tenochtitlán also as "town of Pochtlan," a barrio of Tenochtitlan occupied by merchants, whose gods were Tiçaoc, Macuilxochitl, Xiuhtecuhtli, Tlaloc, Xilo, Tepetzinteotl, Coyotlinahual, Chicomecoatl, Xochiquetzal, Yacatecuhtli (Arturo Monzón, *op. cit.*, p. 50). See also Alfonso Caso: *Instituciones indígenas precortesianas* (México: Instituto Nacional Indigenista, 1954), pp. 23-24, for a résumé of the social and economic importance of the *pochteca*.

3. *Atzonitzol se pochtecatlahtlac, "mayor o principal entre los mercaderes . . . tanto como si dijeramos que es gobernador de los mercaderes, y entre dos mercaderes . . . se entiende el que es mayor principal, gobernador, o señor, o que es casi padre y madre de todos los mercaderes"* (Sahagún, Cordray ed., X, 16, 5).

Jara, *op. cit.*, p. 248 (citing Seler, *Ges. Ab.*, II, 68): *"aber chichimekischen Volksstamm in der südöstlich der Seen von Mexiko gelegenen Landschaft Chalco."* Acxotlan was a merchant's *barrio* in Tenochtitlan; gods were Nanã Eheatl, Chicomecoatl, Xantocatl, Cochimetl, Yacapitzauac, Nacxitl, Chalmecatzintli (Monzón, *loc. cit.*).

4. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book I, "The Gods," p. 10 and n. 5. Jara, *op. cit.*, p. 328, citing Seler, *Ges. Ab.*, II, 1070: *"Meere aus dem Orte Quetzaltepec . . . der auf Wanderschaft gelernde Kleine und Marktschreiber versteht als der auf seiner Reisen gelernde Grosshändler, auch Kaufmann i. A."*

5. *Ibid.*, p. 148.